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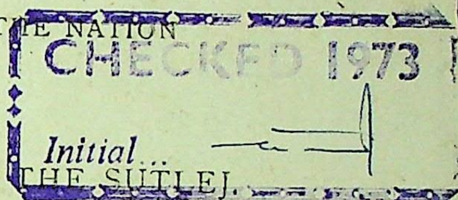
HISTORY OF THE SIKHS

FROM

THE ORIGIN OF THE NATION

TO

THE BATTLES OF THE SUTLEJ.



BY

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INTRODUCTION.



CUNNINGHAM'S *History of the Sikhs* is a work which no serious student of Indian history can do without. Cunningham was never a dilettante, but on the other hand an expert and an authority. He brought to bear on the subject an unbiased mind, a fastidious fondness for accuracy as well as consummate erudition. No bias warps his judgment, no profitless profusion mars the beauty of his style, no lurking ignorance interrupts the fullness of the narrative.

The author had lived among the Sikh people for a period of eight years, and during a very important portion of their history. And it is to this fact that the genesis of his *magnum opus* is to be traced.

But—strange as it may appear—the author's unflinching adherence to truth at first only brought him degradation and disgrace. The circumstances have thus been explained by Malleson:—

"The work (History of the Sikhs) appeared in 1849. Extremely well written, giving the fullest and the most accurate details of events; the book possessed one quality which, in the view of the Governor General of the day, the Marquis of Dalhousie, rendered the publication of it a crime. It told the whole truth, the unpalatable truth, regarding the first Sikh war: it exposed the real strength of the Sikh army; the conduct of, and the negotiations with, the Sikh chiefs.

"The book, if unnoticed by high authority, would have injured no one. The Punjab had been annexed, or was in the process of annexation, when it appeared. But a despotic Government cannot endure truths which seem to reflect on the justice of its policy. Looking at the policy of annexation from the basis of Cunningham's book, that policy was undoubtedly unjust. Cunningham's book would be widely read, and would influence the general verdict. * * * That an officer holding a high political office should write a book which, by the facts disclosed in it, reflected, however indirectly, on his policy, was not to be endured. With one stroke of the pen, then, he removed Cunningham from his appointment at Bhopal. Cunningham, stunned by the blow, entirely unexpected, died of a broken heart!"

But truth has triumphed. Lord Dalhousie could crush Cunningham, but he could not crush his work. Posterity hastened not only to remove from the brow of this conscientious and faithful historian the stigma which Dalhousie had tried to brand on it, but also to adorn it with the laurel crown which is the victor's just reward. Cunningham's place in the valhalla of historians is now secure.

Prompted by sheer curiosity at the treatment Cunningham received at the hands of Lord Dalhousie; we procured a copy of the first edition of the book; and read it. But we could find nothing objectionable in it. Surely Lord Dalhousie had taken the fair criticisms of the historian to be personal attacks. At a time when the Punjab was in the process of annexation, the publication of a book which might have indirectly questioned

the justice of that annexation was considered to be a crime. The book in the opinion of Lord Dalhousie was calculated, probably, to foment a feeling that could culminate in the disruptive tendencies of a newly conquered people. But Dalhousie was mistaken in his calculation.

This is not the proper place to discuss in detail the policy of Lord Dalhousie. That has been done by able historians of British rule in India. Even—if we doubt the justice of Lord Dalhousie's action--the results of that annexation have fully justified his work. The unifying influence of British rule has converted a heterogeneous hoard into a homogeneous whole. The scattered units of the race have coalesced and come together. The progressive civilisation of the West has quickened the atrophied veins of the East. And it has secured for India a permanent place "in the Parliament of man, the Federation of the world." Moreover, as Cunningham himself puts it,—"The glory to England is indeed great of her Eastern Dominion, and she may justly feel proud of the increasing excellence of her sway over subject nations; but this general expression of the sense and desire of the English people does not show that every proceeding of her delegates is necessarily fitting and far-seeing. The wisdom of England is not to be measured by the views and acts of any one of her sons, but is rather to be deduced from the characters of many."

Cunningham wrote history in advance of his time, and suffered for it. But that time is no more. The conquered know that it is their interest to be loyal; the conquerors feel sure that the conquered

understand and appreciate the thousand and one advantages they daily derive because of the British Goverment. British rule in India rest firm broad-based on the loyalty of the Indian people and the benign administration of the British Governors.

Dalhousie, we have said, took the fair criticisms of the historian to be personal attacks; and he punished the author. But he could not suppress the book. England is the country

> "— That freemen till,
> That sober-suited Freedom chose,
> The land, where girt with friends or foes
> A man may speak the thing he will."

England would not allow, even the worst of despots to suppress freedom of thought and freedom of expression.

Indians should not be allowed to harbour the suspicion that England did an unjustifiable injustice in annexing the Punjab; and Cunningham's book was put on the *index expurgatorius*, because it exposed that injustice. On the other hand some of the book is an account of a brilliant achievements of the British in India. And a *verbatim* reprint of the original edition —now grown exceedingly scarce—is called forth. And we publish it in the hope that it will help the future historian of India in his researches, and remove all suspicion of any unjustly imputed dark deed perpetrated by the British in connection with the annexation of the Punjab.

The second edition of the book is found in most of the libraries—the Government College libraries

and the Imperial Library, not excepted. In the preface to the second edition Cunningham wrote—"In this Second Edition the Author has made some alterations in the text of the last chapter, where it seemed that his readers had inferred more than was meant; but the sense and spirit of what was originally written have been carefully preserved, notwithstanding the modifications of expression now introduced." For the convenience of our readers we quote from the second edition the alterations made by the author.

(1) Page 384, the following sentence has been added to the first para, in the second edition, after the words "a war purely defensive"—"although one in everyway congenial to their feelings of youthful pride and national jealousy."

(2) Page 385, line 4, the word "colossal" is replaced by "great and growing". Line 6, before the words "defensive measures," are added : "or why insufficiency of rule should be construed into hostility of purpose". Line 11, before the words "unreasonable," — "strange or" and after it, "although erroneous," are put in the second edition.

(3) Page 386, line 7, after the words "still approved," are added second edition:—" and when the policy of forming the province of Sirhind into a neutral or separating tract between two dissimilar powers had been wisely adopted."

(4) Page 387, to the last line of the para of the 2nd. edition are added, : "and who, assured of the rectitude of their intentions, persuaded of the general advantage of their measures, and conscious of their overwhelming power, are naturally prone to disregard the less obvious feelings of their dependants, and to be careless of the light in which their acts may be viewed by those whose aims and apprehensions are totally different from their own."

(5) Page 388, line 8, the word "abstract" is added in the second Edition before the word "right," and "proper" is inserted before "territories" in line 10. In line 25 bottom, "which was equally a topic of conversation" have been added the words after "Dost Mahommed Khan."

(6) Page 394, line 4, after the word "marauders,"—"and in seizing them, the Lahore soldiers were reported to have used needless violence, and perhaps to have committed other excesses. Nevertheless, the object of the troopers was evident; and" have been added in the second edition; the line "and the object of the few troopers was......evident" has been omitted in the second edition. Line 11-12, "but they......upon" have been replaced by "but the motives of Sir Charles Napier were not appreciated, and." Line 13, after the word "Sindh," "were mistakenly looked upon" have been added in the second edition.

Page 398, as the para beginning with: "The initiative was &c." has been re-written and another new para has been inserted, we quote them in full as they are in the second edition.

"The initiative was thus taken by the Sikhs, who by an overt act broke a solemn treaty, and invaded the territories of their allies. It is further certain that the English people had all along been sincerely desirous of living at peace with the Punjab, and to a casual observer the aggression of the Sikhs may thus appear as unaccountable as it was fatal; yet further inquiry will show that the policy pursued by the English themselves for several years was not in reality well calculated to ensure a continuance of pacific relations, and that they cannot therefore be held wholly blameless for a war which they expected and deprecated, and which they knew could only tend to their own aggrandisement. The proceedings of the English, indeed, do not exhibit that punctilious adherence to the spirit of first relations which allows no change of circumstances to cause a departure from arrangements which had, in the progress of time, come to be regarded by a weaker power as essentially bound up with its independence. Neither do the acts of the English seem marked by that high wisdom and sure foresight, which should distinguish the career of intelligent rulers acquainted with actual life, and the examples of history. Treaties of commerce and navigation had been urged upon the Sikhs, notwithstanding their dislike to such bonds of unequal union; they were chafed that they had been withheld from Sindh, from Afghanistan, and from Tibet, merely, they would argue, that these countries might be left open to the ambition of the English; and they were

rendered suspicious by the formation of new military posts on their frontier, contrary to prescriptive usage and for reasons of which they did not perceive the force or admit the validity. The English looked upon these measures with reference to *their own* schemes of amelioration; and they did not heed the conclusions which the Sikhs might draw from them, although such conclusions, how erroneous soever, would necessarily become motives of action to a rude and warlike race. Thus, at the last, regard was mainly had to the chance of predatory inroads, or to the possibility that sovereign and nobles and people, all combined, would fatuitiously court destruction by assailing their gigantic neigbhor, and little thought was given to the selfish views of factious Sikh Chiefs, or to the natural effects, of the suspicions of the Sikh commonalty when wrought upon by base men for their own ends. Thus, too, the original agreement which left the province of Sirhind free of troops and of British subjects, and which provided a confederacy of dependent states to soften the mutual action of a half-barbarous military dominion and of a humane and civilized government, had been set aside by the English for objects which seemed urgent and expedient, but which were good in their motive rather than wise in their scope. The measure was misconstrued by the Sikhs to denote a gradual but settled plan of conquest; and hence the *subjective* mode of reasoning employed was not only vicious in logic, but being met by arguments even more narrow and onesided, became faulty in policy, and, in truth, tended to bring about that collision which it was so much desired to avoid.

"A corresponding singleness of apprehension also led to the confident English to persevere in despising or misunderstanding the spirit of the disciples of Govind. The unity and depth of feeling, derived from a young and fervid faith, were hardly recognised, and no historical associations exalted Sikhs to the dignity of Rajpoots and Puthans."

Page 399, the entire portion of the para: "The same defective ......triumphs" has been omitted in the second edition. The omission is reasonable. The statement, it is believed, has not been substantiated by facts.

Page 400, line 8, the word "not" is replaced by "scarcely" in the second edition

Page 422, line 4-5, the words "wisely......made" have been replaced by "timely and bold;" also,—"over a worthy enemy, in a well-planned and bravely fought battle" have been added to the last line of the para in the second edition.

Page 433, line 28 bottom, the portion beginning with "But the warlike &c." and ending in "was complete" in page 434, has been replaced by: "But the necessities of war pressed upon the commanders, and *they* had effectually to disperse that army which had so long scorned their power. The fire of batteries and battalions precipitated the flight of the Sikhs through the waters of the Sutlej, and the triumph of the English became full and manifest" in the second edition.

Some new foot-notes have been added and some extended; and a few omitted by the author in the second edition of his work. There is a big foot-note in the first edition in which it is stated that Major Broadfoot is understood to have quoted to the Sikhs a letter (April, 1824) from Runjeet Singh,—"requiring the Sikh authorities south of the Sutlej to obey the English agent on pain of having their noses slit." This portion has been omitted in the second edition. The author seems to have made a mistake in his first assertion.

It is apparent that the first edition contained nothing that the author afterwards thought prudent to retract. If the author has been—as Kaye puts it—more than just to the Sikhs, his action has only served to add lustre to the achievements of the British nation who crushed the power of the Sikhs. The book is a brilliant tribute to the merit of the British soldiers who—as *Punch* would say—

"Put down their lives for the common weal
That makes all our Empire One,
And gives us the silent pride we feel
When we speak of the unset sun."

The second edition is an improvement upon the first, though that improvement is of very little consequence. However, we beg of our readers to read our edition of the *History of the Sikhs*, after comparing and carefully noting the omissions, additions and alterations made in the second edition by the author and thereby correcting themselves, if any necessity arises. The first edition (of 1849) has been published by us mainly with a view to show to our readers and the English public at large that the first edition (of 1849) does not contain any libellous, slanderous or seditious matter which might have justified Lord Dalhousie in dismissing the author from service. The subject matter of the two editions, (first and second,) of this book is to be found in our reprint of the edition of 1849. And this new edition may be termed—the third edition. Here we may note parenthetically, that a few new notes in the first portion of the second edition of this book which appear to us to be unimportant, have been omitted in the present edition.

That this valuable book should remain unpublished for half a century, only because a certain Governor-General erroneously dismissed its author from service, is to our mind a great blunder unprecedented in the annals of English Literature. Recently we have been publishing a series of rare Indian books

which appear to us important, interesting and useful; and we think it is our duty, as loyal subjects, to publish those rare Indian books which prove the invincibility of British arms and the good intentions of the British Government. For these reasons and others equally good, we have published the *History of the Sikhs* by J. D. Cunningham with his last corrections and additions; and we hope, that the readers will profit by, and be more attached to, our good Government by a perusal of this work.

THE BANGABASI OFFICE,
Calcutta, *September* 1904.

THE PUBLISHER.

PREFACE.

ONE who possesses no claims to systematic scholarship, and who nevertheless asks the public to approve of his labours in a field of some difficulty, is bound to show to his readers that he has at last had fair means of obtaining accurate information and of coming to just conclusions.

Towards the end of the year 1837, the Author received, through the unsolicited favour of Lord Auckland, the appointment of assistant to Colonel Wade, the political agent at Loodiana, and the officer in charge of the British relations with the Punjab and the chiefs of Afghanistan. He was at the same time required as an engineer officer, to render Feerozpoor a defensible post, that little place having been declared a feudal escheat, and its position being regarded as one of military importance. His plans for effecting the object in view met the approval of Sir Henry Fane, the Commander-in-Chief; but it was eventually thought proper to do more than cover the town with a slight parapet, and the scheme for reseating Shah Shooja on his throne seemed at the time to make the English and Sikh Governments so wholly one, that the matter dropped, and Feerozpoor was allowed to bacome a cantonment with scarcely the means at hand of saving its ammunition from a few predatory horse.

The Author was also present at the interview which took place in 1838, between Runjeet Singh and Lord Auckland. In 1839 he accompanied Shahzada Tymoor and Colonel Wade to Peshawur, and he was with them when they forced the Pass of Khyber, and laid open the road to Caubul. In 1840 he was placed in administrative charge of the district of Loodiana; and towards the end of the same year, he was deputed by the new frontier agent, Mr. Clerk, to accompany Colonel Shelton and his relieving brigade to Peshawur, whence he returned with the troops escorting Dost Mahomed Khan under Colonel Wheeler. During part of 1841 he was in magisterial charge of the Feerozpoor district, and towards the close of that year, he was appointed—on the recommendation again of Mr. Clerk—to proceed to Tibet to see that the ambitious Rajas of Jummoo surrendered certain territories which they had seized from the Chinese of Lassa, and that the British trade with Ludakh, &c. was restored to its old footing. He returned at the end of a year and was present at the interviews between Lord Ellenborough and Dost Mahomed at Loodiana, and between his lordship and the Sikh chiefs at Feerozpoor in December 1842. During part of 1843 he was in civil charge of Ambala; but from the middle of that year till towards the close of 1844, he held the post of personal assistant to Colonel Richmond, the successor of Mr. Clerk. After Major Broadfoot's nomination to the same office, and during the greater part of 1845, the Author was employed in the Buhawulpoor territory in connection with refugee Sindhians, and with boundary disputes

between the Daoodpotras and the Rajpoots of Beekameer and Jeyselmeer. When war with the Sikhs broke out, the Author was required by Sir Charles Napier to join his army of co-operation; but after the battle of Pheerooshuhur, he was summoned to Lord Gough's Head Quarters. He was subsequently directed to accompany Sir Harry Smith, when a diversion was made towards Loodiana, and he was thus present at the skirmish of Buddowal and at the battle of Aleewal. He had likewise the fortune to be a participator in the victory of Subraon, and the further advantage of acting on that important day as an aide-de-camp to the Governor-General. He was then attached to the head quarters of the Commander-in-Chief, until the army broke up at Lahore, when he accompanied Lord Hardinge's camp to the Simlah Hills, preparatory to setting out for Bhopal, the political agency in which state and its surrounding districts, his lordship had unexpectedly been pleased to bestow upon him.

The Author was thus living among the Sikh people for a period of eight years, and during a very important portion of their history. He had intercourse, under every variety of circumstances, with all classes of men, and he had at the same time free access to all the public records bearing on the affairs of the frontier. It was after being required in 1844, to draw up reports on the British connection generally with the states on the Sutlej, and especially on the military resources of the Punjab, that he conceived the idea, and felt he had the means, of writing the history which he now offers to the public.

PREFACE.

The Author's residence in Malwa has been beneficial to him in many ways personally; and it has also been of advantage in the composition of this work, as he has had the opportunity of becoming acquainted with the ideas and modes of life of the military colonies of Sikhs scattered through Central India.

Sehore Bhopal,
December 9. 1848.

NOTE.

REGARDING THE PRONUNCIATION OF PROPER NAMES.

NAMES which are familiar to the English reader, and which may be said to have become formed into a conventional vocabulary, are spelt according to the common orthography, or with such little deviation from it as not to require special notice. Thus, Deccan is used throughout for Dukhun, or Dekhin, or Dukshun; Mahomet for Mohummud, or Mohammed; Runjeet for Ranjit, and so on.

Otherwise it has been attempted to convey the sound of Indian names by giving to English letters their ordinary pronunciation or admitted powers; and it has not been thought advisable to endeavor to render letters by their alphabetical equivalents.

A is always to be pronounced broad, as *a* in all, father, &c., excepting in such classical names as Akber, Arjoon, &c. where it has the sound of *u* in up, dull, &c.

E, when single, is to be pronounced as *e* in there, or as *a* in care. When double (EE), as *ee* in cheer, or as *ea* in hear.

I, as *i* in sit, writ, &c.

O, as *o* in only, bone, &c., *i. e.* generally long.

U, as *u* in up, sun, &c.

EI, as *ey* in eyry.

EU, as *eu* in Europe.

OW, as *ow* in town, or as *ou* in round.

The letter C is alawys to be regarded as hard, or as the equivalent of K.

Similarly G is always hard, and nowhere represents J.

In some names and designations, the modern pronunciation and modes in use in India generally have occasionally been preferred to the ancient classical, or to the present local forms. Thus, Cheitun, is written instead of Chaitanya; Koopel, instead of Capila; Raee, instead of Roy or Rao, and so on.

On the contrary, the familiar word Siva (Seeva) has been preferred to Shiv, or Sheo, or Shew; while Krishna and Kishen have been used indiscriminately. With regard to Avatar, there is a difficulty; for the word is pronounced not as Avahter, but as Awtarh, or Owtarh. The usual form does not convey the true sound, and the other is offensive to the unaccustomed eye.

In the references, and also in the text, from Chap. V to the end of the Volume, the names of military officers and civil functionaries are quoted without any nice regard to the rank they may have held at the particular time, or the titles by which they may have been subsequently distinguished. But as there is one person only of each name to be referred to, no doubt or inconvenience can arise from this laxity. Thus the youthful, but discreet Mr. Metcalfe of the treaty with Runjeet Singh, and the Sir Charles Metcalfe so honorably connected with the history of India, is the Lord Metcalfe of riper years and approved services in another hemisphere. Lieutenant-Colonel, or more briefly Colonel, Pottinger, is now a Major-General and a Grand Cross of the Bath; while Mr. Clerk has been made a knight of the same Order and Lieutenant-Colonel Lawrence has been raised to an equal title. Captain, or Lieutenant-Colonel, or Sir Claude Wade, mean one and the same person: and similarly the late Sir Alexander Burnes, sometimes appears as a simple lieutenant, or as a captain, or as a Lieutenant-Colonel. On the other hand, Sir David Ochterloney is referred to solely under that title, although, when he marched to the Sutlej in 1809, he held the rank of lieutenant-colonel only.

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A

HISTORY

OF

THE SIKHS.

CHAPTER I.

THE COUNTRY AND PEOPLE.

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DURING the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries of the Christian era, Nanuk and Govind, of the Khutree race, obtained a few converts to their doctrines of religious reform and social emancipation among the Jut peasants of Lahore and the southern banks of the Sutlej. The "Sikhs," or "Disciples," have now become a nation; and they occupy, or have extended their influence, from Delhi to Peshawur, and from the plains of Sindh to the Karakorum mountains. The dominions acquired by the Sikhs are thus included between the 28th and 36th parallels of north latitude, and between the 71st and 77th meridians of east longitude; and if a base of four hundred and fifty miles be drawn from

Paneeput to the Khyber Pass, two triangles, almost equilateral, may be described upon it, which will include the conquest of Runjeet Singh and the fixed colonies of the Sikh people.

The country of the Sikhs being thus situated in a medium degree of latitude, corresponding nearly with that of northern Africa and the American states, and consisting either of broad plains not much above the sea level, or of mountain ranges which rise two and three miles into the air, possesses every variety of climate and every description of natural produce. The winter of Ludakh is long and rigorous, snow covers the ground for half the year, the loneliness of its vast solitudes appals the heart, and nought living meets the eye ; yet the shawl-wool goat gives a value to the rocky wastes of that elevated region, and its scanty acres yield unequalled crops of wheat and barley, where the stars can be discerned at midday and the thin air scarcely bears the sound of thunder to the ear. * The

* Shawl wool is produced most abundantly, and of the finest quality in the steppes between the Shayuk and the main branch of the Indus. About 100,000 rupees or £10,000 worth may be carried down the valley of the Sutlej to Loodiana and Delhi. (*Journal, Asiatic Society of Bengal for* 1844, p 210) The importation into Cashmeer alone is estimated by Moorcroft (*Travels*, ii. 105) at about £75,000 and thus the Sutlej trade may represent less than a tenth of the whole.

Moorcroft speaks highly of the cultivation of wheat and barley in Tibet, and he once saw a field of the latter grain in that country such as he had never before beheld and which he says an English farmer would have ridden many miles to have looked at.—(*Travels* 269, 280)

The gravel of the northern steppes of Tibet yields

heat and the dust storms of Mooltan are perhaps more oppressive than the cold and the drifting snows of Tibet; but the favourable position of the city, and the several overflowing streams in its neighbourhood, give an importance, the one to its manufactures of silks and carpets, and the other to the wheat, the indigo, and the cotton of its fields.* The southern slopes of the Hima-

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gold in grains, but the value of the crude borax of the lakes surpasses, as an article of trade, that of the precious metal.

In Yarkund an intoxicating drug named *chur rus*, much used in India, is grown of a superior quality, and while opium could be taken across the Himalayas, the Hindus and Chinese carried on a brisk traffic of exchange in the two deleterious commodities.

The trade in tea through Tibet to Cashmeer and Caubul is of local importance. The blocks weigh about eight pounds, and sell for 12*s*. and 16*s*. up to 36*s*. and 48*s*. each, according to the quality.—(Compare Moorcroft, *Travels*, i. 350, 351.)

* The wheat of Mooltan is beardless, and its grain is long and heavy. It is exported in large quantities to Rajpootana, and also, since the British occupation, to Sindh to an increased extent. The value of the carpets manufactured in Mooltan does not perhaps, exceed 50,000 rupees annually. The silk manufacture may be worth five times that sum, or, including that of Buhawulpoor, 400,000 rupees in all; but the demand for such fabrics has markedly declined since the expulsion of a native dynasty from Sindh. The raw silk of Bokhara is used in preference to that of Bengal, as being stronger and more glossy.

English piece-goods (or more largely) cotton twist to be woven into cloth, have been introduced everywhere in India; but those well to do in the world can alone buy foreign articles, and thus while about eighteen tons of cotton twist are used by the weavers of Buhawulpoor, about three hundred tons of (cleaned) cotton are grown in the district, and wrought up by the villagers or exported to Rajpootana.

The Lower Punjab and Buhawulpoor yield respectively about 750

layas are periodically deluged with rain, which is almost unknown beyond the snow, and is but little felt in Mooltan or along the Indus. The central Punjab is mostly a bushy jungle or a pastoral waste; its rivers alone have rescued it from the desert, but its dryness keeps it free from savage beasts, and its herds of cattle are of staple value to the country; while the plains which is immediately bound the hills, or are influenced by the Indus and its tributaries, are not surpassed in fertility by any in India. The many populous towns of these tracts are filled with busy weavers of cotton and silk and wool, and with skilful, workers in leather and wool and iron. Water is found near the surface, and the Persian wheel is in general use for purposes of irrigation. Sugar is produced in abundance, and the markets of Sindh and Caubul are in part supplied with that valuable article by the traders of Amritsir, the commercial emporium of Northern India. * The artisans of Cashmeer, the varied productions of that famous valley, its harvests of saffron, and important manufacture of shawls, are well known and need only be alluded to. † The plains of Attok and Peshawar no

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and 150 tons of indigo. It is worth on the spot from ninepence to eighteenpence the pound. The principal market is Khorassan; but the trade has declined of late, perhaps owing to the quantities which may be introduced into that country by way of the Persian Gulph from India. The fondness of the Sikhs, and of the poorer Mahometans of the Indus, for blue clothing, will always maintain a fair trade in indigo.

* In 1844 the customs and excise duties of the Punjab amounted to £ 240,000. or £ 250,000, or to one thirteenth of the whole revenue of Runjeet Singh, estimated at £ 3,250,000.

† Mr. Moorcroft (*Travels*, ii. 194) estimates the annual value

longer shelter the rhinoceros which Baber delighted to hunt, but are covered with rich crops of rice, of wheat, and of barley. The mountains themselves produce drugs and dyes and fruits; their precipitous sides support forests of gigantic pines, and veins of copper, or extensive deposits of rock salt and of iron ore are contained within their vast outline. The many fertile vales lying between the Indus and Cashmeer, are perhaps unsurpassed in the East for salubrity and loveliness; the seasons are European, and the violent "monsoon" of India is replaced by the genial spring rains of temperate climates.

The people comprised within the limits of the Sikh rule or influence, are various in their origin, their language, and their faith. The plains of Upper India, in which the Brahmins and Khshutrees had developed a peculiar civilisation, have been overrun by Persian or Scythic tribes, from the age of Darius and Alexander to that of Baber and Nadir Shah. Particular traces of the successive conquerors may yet perhaps be found, but the main features are, 1. the introduction of the Mahometan creed; and 2. the long antecedent emigration of hordes of Juts from the plains of Upper Asia. It is not necessary to enter into the antiquities of Grecian "Getæ" and Chinese "Yuechi," to discuss the asserted identity of a peasant Jut and a moon-descended Yadoo, or to try to trace the blood of

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of the Cashmeer manufacture of shawls at £300,000; but this seems a small estimate if the raw material be worth £75,000; alone (*Travels*, ii. 165, &c.) that is, 1000 horse loads of 300 pounds, ach pound being worth five shillings.

Kadphises in the veins of Runjeet Singh. It is sufficient to observe that the vigorous Hindoo civilization of the first ages of Christianity soon absorbed its barbarous invaders, and that in the lapse of centuries the Juts became essentially Brahminical in language and belief. Along the southern Indus they soon yielded their conscience to the guidance of Islam ; those of the north longer retained their idolatrous faith, but they have lately had a new life breathed into them ; they now preach the unity of God and the equality of man, and, after obeying Hindoo and Mahometan rulers, they have themselves once more succeeded to sovereign power. *

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* According to the dictionaries, *Jat* means a race, a tribe, or a particular race so called while *Jut* means manner, kind, and likewise matted hair. But throughout the Punjab *Jut* also implies a fleece, a fell of hair ; and in Upper Sindh a *Jut* now means a rearer of camels or of black cattle or a shepherd in opposition to a husbandman. In the Punjab generally a *Jut* means still a villager, rustic *Par excellence*, as one of the race by far the most numerous, a and as opposed to one engaged in trade or handicraft. This was observed by the author of the Dabistan nearly two centuries ago (*Dabistan*, ii. 252.) ; but since the *Juts* of Lahore and the *Jats* of the Jumna have acquired power, the term is becoming more restricted and is occasionally employed to mean simply one of that particular race.

The Juts merge on one side into the Rajpoots, and on the other into the Afghans, the names of the Jut subdivisions being the same with those of Rajpoots in the east and again with those of Afghans and even Belotches, in the west and many obscure tribes being able to show plausibly that at least they are likely to be Rajpoots or Afghans as to be Juts. The Juts are indeed enumerated among the arbitrary or conventional thirty-six royal races of the local bards of Rajpootana (*Tod's Rajasthan*, i. 106.) and they themselves claim affinity with the Bhuttees and aspire to a lunar origin, as is done by the Raja of Putteeala. As instances of the narrow and confused

The Mussulman occupation forms the next grand epoch in general Indian history after the extinction of the Boodhist religion; the common speech of the people has been partially changed, and the tenets of Mahomet are gradually revolutionizing the whole fabric of Indian society; but the difference of race, or the savage manners of the conquerors, struck the vanqnished even more forcibly than their creed, and to this day Juts and others talk of "Toorks" as synonymous with oppressors, and the proud Rajpoots not only bowed before the Mussulmans, but have perpetuated the remembrance of their servitude by adopting "Toorkana," or Turk money, into their language as the equivalent of tribute.

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state of our knowledge regarding the people of India, it may be mentioned that Birks (or Virks) one of the most distinguished tribes of the Juts, is admitted among the Chalook Rajpoots by Tod (i. 100.) and that there are *Kukker* and *Kakur* Juts, *Kukker Kokur*, and *Kakur* Afghans, besides *Gukkers*, not included in any of the three races. Further the family of Oomerkot in Sindh is stated by Tod (*Rajasthan* i. 92, 93.) to be Pramar (or Powar) while the Emperor Humayoon's chronicler talks of the followers (i. e. brethren) of that chief as being Juts. (*Memoirs of Humayoon*, p. 45.) The editors of the Journal of the Geographical Society (xiv. 207, *note*) derive *Jut* from the Sanscrit *Jyestha*, old, ancient, and so make the term equivalent to *aborigines*; but this etymology perhaps too hastily sets aside the sufficiently established facts of Getæ and Yuechi emigrations and the circumstances of Tymoor's warfare with Jettehs in Central Asia.

Some of the most eminent of the Jut subdivisions in the Punjab are named Sindhoo, Cheeneh, Vuraitch, Chuttheh, Sidhoo, Kurreeal, Gondul, &c. &c.

In the valley of the Upper Indus, that is, in Ludakh and little Tibet, the prevailing caste is the Bhotee subdivision of the great Tartar variety of the human race. Lower down that classical stream, or in Ghilghit and Chulass, the remains of the old and secluded races of Durdoos and Dunghers are still to be found, but both in Iskardo and in Ghilghit itself, there is some mixture of Toorkman tribes from the wilds of Pamer and Kashkar. The people of Cashmeer have from time to time been mixed with races from the north, the south, and the west; and while their language is Hindoo and their faith Mahometan, the manners of the primitive Kush or Kutch tribes, have been influenced by their proximity to the Tartars. The hills westward from Cashmeer to the Indus are inhabited by Kukkas and Bumbas, of whom little is known but towards the river itself the Eusofzaees and other Afghan tribes prevail; while there are many secluded valleys peopled by the widely spread Goojers, whose history has yet to be ascertained, and who are the vassals of Arabian "syeds," or of Afghan and Toorkmun lords.

In the hills south of Cashmeer, and west of the Jehlum to Attok and Kalabagh on the Indus, are found Gukkers, Goojers, Khatirs, Awans, Junjoohs and others, all of whom may be considered to have from time to time merged into the Hindoo stock in language and feelings. Of these some, as the Junjoohs and especially the Gukkers, have a local reputation. Peshawur and the hills which surround it, are peopled by various races of Afghans, as Eusofzaees and Momunds in the north and west, Khuleels and others in

the centre, and Afreedees, Khuttuks and others in the south and east. The hills south of Kohat, and the districts of Tand and Bunnoo, are likewise peopled by genuine Afghans, as the pastoral Vuzeerees and others or by agricultural tribes claiming such as descent; and, indeed, throughout the mountains on either side of the Indus, every valley has its separate tribe or family, always opposed in interest, and sometimes differing in speech and manners. Generally it may be observed, that, on the north, the Afghans on one side, and the Toorkmuns on the other, are gradually pressing upon the old but less energetic Durdoos, who have been already mentioned.

In the districts on either side of the Indus south of Kalabagh, and likewise around Mooltan, the population is partly Belotch and partly Jut, intermixed however with other tribes, as Uroras and Raiens, and towards the mountains of Sooleeman some Afghan tribes are likewise to be found located. In the waste tracts between the Indus and Sutlej are found Juns, Bhutteens, Seeals, Kurruls, Kathees, and other tribes, who are both pastoral, and predatory, and who, with the Chibhs and Buhows south of Cashmeer, between the Jehlum and Chenab. may be the first inhabitants of the country, but little reclaimed in manners by Hindoo or Mahometan conquerors; or one or more of them, as the Bhuttes, who boast of their lunar descent, may represent a tribe of ancient invaders or colonisers who have yielded to others more powerful than themselves. Indeed, there seems little doubt of the former supremacy of the Bhuttee or Bhatee race in North-western India: the tribe is extensively diffused, but the only sovereignty

which remains to it is over the sands of Jeyselmeer. The tracts along the Sutlej, about Pakputtun, are occupied by Wuttoos and Johya Rajpoots, * while lower down are found some of the Lungga tribe, who were once the masters of Ootch and Mooltan.

The hills between Cashmeer and the Sutlej are possessed by Rajpoot families, and the Mahometan invasion seems to have thrust the more warlike Indians, on one side into the sands of Rajpootana and the hills of Bundelkund, and on the other into the recesses of the Himalayas. But the mass of the population is a mixed race called Dogras about Jummoo, and Kunets to the eastward, even as far as the Jumna and Ganges, and which boasts of some Rajpoot blood. There are, however, some other tribes intermixed, as the Gudhees, who claim to be Khutree, and as the Kohlees, who may be the aborigines, and who resemble in manners and habits, and perhaps in language, the forest tribes of Central India. Towards the snowy limits there is some mixture of Bhotees, and towards Cashmeer and in the towns there is a similar mixture of the people of that valley.

The central tract in the plains stretching from the Jehlum to Hansee Hissar and Paneeput, and lying to

* Tod (*Rajasthan*, i. 118.) regards the Johyas as extinct; but they still flourish as peasants on either bank of the Sutlej, between Kussoor and Buhawulpoor: they are now Mahometans. The Dahia of Tod (i. 118.) are likewise to be found as cultivators and as Mahometans on the Lower Sutlej, under the name of Deheh or Dahur and Duhur; and they and many other tribes seem to have yielded on one side to Rahtor Rajpoots, and on the other to Belotches.

the north of Khooshab and the ancient Depalpoor, is inhabited chiefly by Juts; and the particular country of the Sikh people may be said to lie around Lahore, Amritsir, and even Goojrat to the north of the Sutlej, and around Bhutinda and Soonam to the south of that river. The one tract is preeminently called Manjha or the middle land, and the other is known as Malwa, from, it is said, some fancied resemblance in greenness and fertility to the central Indian province of that name. Many other people are however, intermixed, as Bhuttees and Doghurs, mostly to the south and west, and Raiens, Rors, and others, mostly in the east. Goojers are everywhere numerous, as are also other Rajpoots besides Bhuttees, while Puthans are found in scattered villages and towns. Among the Puthans those of Kussoor have long been numerous and powerful, and the Rajpoots of Rahoon have a local reputation. Of the gross agricultural population of this central tract, perhaps somewhat more than four-tenths may be Jut, and somewhat more than one-tenth Goojer, while nearly two-tenths may be Rajpoots more or less pure, and less than a tenth claims to be Mahometans of foreign origin, although it is highly probable that about a third of the whole people profess the Mussulman faith.*

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* Out of 1,030 villages lying here and there between the Jumna and Sutlej, and which were under British management in 1844, there were found to be forty-one different tribes of *agriculturists*, in proportions as follows, after adding up fractions where any race composed a portion only of the whole community of any one village.

In every town and city there are, moreover, tribes of religionists, or soldiers, or traders, or handicraftsmen and thus whole divisions of a provincial

	Villages.
Juts	443
Rajpoots	194
Goojers	109
Syeds	17
Shekhs	25
Puthans	8
Moghuls	5
Brahmins	28
Khutrees	6
Raiens (or Araiens)	47
Kumbos	19
Malees	12
Rors	33
Doghurs (Mahometans claiming Khshutree origin) ...	28
Kulalls	5
Gosayen religionists	3
Bairaghee do.	2
24 miscellaneous tribes occupying equal to	46
Total	1,030

A classification of the tribes of India according to position, origin, and faith is much wanted, and is indeed necessary to a proper comprehension of the history of the country. The Revenue Survey, as conducted in the upper provinces of the Ganges, enumerates several castes, or at least the predominant ones, in each village, and the lists might easily be rendered more complete, and afterwards made available by publication for purposes of inquiry and deduction.

The Sikh population of the Punjab and adjoining districts has usually been estimated at 500,000 souls in all (compare Burnes, *Travels*, i. 289. and Elphinstone, *History of India*, i 275, *note*) ; but the number seems too small by a half or

capital may be peopled by holy Brahmins * or as holy Syeds, by Afghan or Boondehla soldiers, by Khutrees, Uroras and Buneeas engaged in trade, by Cashmeeree weavers, and by mechanics and dealersof the many degraded or inferior races of Hindostan. None of these are, however, so powerful, so united, or so numerous as to affect the surrounding rural population, although, after the Juts, the Khutrees are perhaps the most influential and enterprising race in the country.†

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a third. There are indeed no exact data on which to found an opinion ; but the Sikh armies have never been held to contain fewer than 70,000 fighting men, they have been given as high as 250,000 and there is no reason to doubt that between the Jehlum and Jumna they could muster nearly half the latter number of soldiers of their own faith, while it is certain that of an agricultural people no member of some families may engage in arms, and that one adult at least of other families will always remain behind to till the ground. The gross Sikh population may probably be considered to amount to a million and a quarter or a million and a half of souls, men, women, and children.

The proportion of Hindoos to Mahometans throughout India generally has been variously estimated. The Emperor Jehangheer (*Memoirs*, p. 29) held them to be as five to one, which perhaps more unequal than the present proportion in the valley of the Ganges. Mr. Elphinstone (*History of India*, ii. 238. and *notes*) takes the relative numbers for the whole country to be eight to one.

* In the Punjab, and along the Ganges, Brahmins have usually the appellation of Misser or Mitter, i. e. Mithra, given to them, if not distinguished as Pundits, *i. e.* as doctors or men of learning. The title seems, according to tradition, or to the surmise of well informed native Indians, to have been introduced by the first Mahometan invaders, and it may perhaps show that the Brahmins were held to be worshippers of the sun by the Unitarian iconoclasts.

† The *Khutrees* of the Punjab maintain the purity of their

Of the wandering houseless races, the Chunggurs are the most numerous and the best known, and they seem to deserve notice as being probably the same as the Chinganehs of Turkey, the Russian Tzigans, the German Zigueners, the Italian Zingaros, the Spanish Gitanos, and the English Gypsies.

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descent, and the legend is that they represent those of the warrior race who yielded the Purs Ram and were spared by him. The tribe is numerous in the Upper Punjab, and about Dehli and Hurdwar. Khutrees are found in towns along the Ganges as far as Benares and Patna; but in Bengal, in Central India, and in the Deccan they seem to be strangers, or only to be represented by ruling families claiming a solar or lunar origin. In the Punjab the religious capital of the Khutrees seems to be the ancient Depalpoor. The Khutrees divide themselves into three principal classes: I. the Charjatees, or the four clans; II. the Barajatees, or the twelve clans; and III. the Bawunjatees, or fifty-two clans. The *Charjatees* are 1st, the Seths; 2nd, the Merhotas; 3rd, the Khunnas; and 4th, the Kuppoors, who are again divided, the first into two, and the three others into three classes. The principal of the *Barajatee* subdivisions are Chopra, Talwar, Tunnuhn, Seighul, Kukker, Meihta, &c. Some of the *Bawunjaees* are as follows: Bundaree, Meindrao, Sehtee, Sooree, Sanee, Unnud, Buhseen, Sohdee, Behdee, Teehun, Bhulleh, &c.

The *Uroras* claim to be the offspring of Khutree fathers and of Veisya or Soodra mothers, and their legend is that they were settled in numbers about Ootch, when the Khutrees being expelled from Dehli, migrated to Tatta and other places in Sindh, and subsequently to Mooltan. During their wars Khutrees asked the aid of the Urorars, but they were refused assistance. The Khutrees in consequence induced the Brahmins to debar the Uroras from the exercise of religious rites, and they thus remained proscribed for three hundred years, until Sidh Bhoja and Sidh Seeama of Depalpoor readmitted them within the pale of Hindooism. The Hindoo bankers of Shikarpoor are Uroras, and Hindoo shopkeepers of Khorass and Bokhara are

About Delhi the race is called Kunjur, a word which in the Punjab, properly implies a courtezan dancing girl.

The limits of Race and Religion are not the same, otherwise the two subjects might have been considered together with advantage. In Ludakh the people and the dependent rulers profess Lamaic Boodhism, which is so widely diffused throughout Central Asia, but the Tibetans of Iskardo, the Durdoos of Ghilghit,

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likewise held by the people of the Punjab to be of the same race The Uroras divide themselves into two main classes ; I. *Ootradee*, or of the north, and II. *Dukhunee*, or of the South, and the latter has likewise an important subdivision named *Duhunee.*

In the lower Punjab and in Sindh, the whole Hindoo trading population is included by the Mahometans under the term "Kerar." In the Upper Punjab the word is used to denote a coward or one base and abject, and about Mooltan it is likewise expressive of contempt as well of a Hindoo or a trafficker In Central India the Kerars form a tribe, but the term there literally means dalesmens or foresters although it has become the name of a class or tribe in the lapse of centuries. Professor Wilson somewhere, I think, identifies them with the Cirrhadæ of the ancients and indeed *Kerat* is one of the five *Prust'has* or regions of the Hindoos, these being Cheen Prusth, Yavun Prusth, Indr Prusth, Dukshun Prusth, and Kerat Prusth, which last is understood by the Indians to apply to the country between Oojein and Orissa. (Compare Wilson, *Vishnoo Pooran*, p. 175, note, for the Keratas of that book) Farther the Brahminical Gonds, of the Nerbuddar are styled "Raj Gonds," while those who have not adopted Hindooism continue to be called "Kirreea Gonds," a term which seems to have a relation to their unaltered condition.

and the Kukkas and Bumbas of the rugged mountains, are Mahometans of the Sheea persuasion. The people of Cashmeer, of Kishtwar, of Bhimbur, of Pukhlee, and of the hills south and west to the salt range and the Indus, are mostly Soonee Mahometans, as are likewise the tribes of Peshawur and of the valley of the Indus southward, and also the inhabitants of Mooltan, and of the plains northward as far as Pind-Dadul-Khan, Chuneeot, and Depalpoor. The people of the Himalayas, esatsward of Kishtwar and Bhimbur, are Hindoos of the Brahminical faith, with some Boodhist colonies to the north, and some Mahometan families to the south west. The Juts of "Manjha" and "Malwa" are mostly Sikhs, but perhaps not one-third of the whole population between the Jehlum and Jumna has yet embraced the tenets of Nanuk and Govind, the other two-thirds being still equally divided between Islam and Brahminism.

In every town excepting perhaps Leh, and in most of the villages of the Mahometan districts of Peshawur and Cashmeer and of the Sikh districts of Manjha and Malwa, there are always to be found Hindoo traders and shopkeepers. The Khutrees prevail in the northern towns, and the Uroras are numerous in the province of Mooltan. The Cashmeeree Brahmins emulate in intelligence and usefulness the Mahratta Pundits and the Baboos of Bengal ; they are a good deal employed in official business, although the Khutrees and the Uroras are the ordinary accountants and farmers of revenue. In "Malwa" alone, that is, about Bhutinda and Soonam, can the Sikh population be found unmixed, and there it has passed in to a saying, that the priest, the

soldier, the mechanic, the shopkeeper and the ploughman are all eqnally Sikh.

There are moreover, in the Punjab, as throughout India, several poor and contemned races, to whom Brahmins will not administer the consolations of religion, and who have not been sought as converts by the Mahometans. These worship village or forest gods, or family progenitors, or they invoke a stone as typical of the great mother of mankind ; or some have become acquainted with the writings of the later Hindoo reformers, and regard themselves as inferior members of the Sikh community. In the remote Himalayas, again, where neither Moolla nor Lama, nor Brahmin, has yet cared to establish himself, the people are equally without instructed priests and a determinate faith ; they worship the Spirit of each lofty peak, they erect temples to the limitary god of each snow clad summit, and believe that from time to time the attendant servitor is inspired to utter the divine will in oracular sentences, or that when the image of the Deitya or Titan is borne in solemn procession on their shoulders, a pressure to the right or left denotes good or evil fortune. *

The characteristics of race and religion are everywhere of greater importance than the accidents of position or the achievements of contemporary genius ;

* In the Lower Himalayas of the Punjab there are many shrines to Googa or Goga, and the poorer classes of the plains likewise reverence the memory of the ancient hero. His birth or appearance is variously related. One account makes him the chief of Ghuznee, and causes him to war with his brothers

but the influences of descent and manners, of origin and worship, need not be dwelt upon in all their ramifications. The systems of Boodha, of Brumha, and of Mahomet, are extensively diffused in the eastern world, and they intimately affect the daily conduct of millions of men. But, for the most part, these creeds no longer inspire their votaries with enthusiasm ; the faith of the people is no longer a living principle, but a social custom,—a rooted, an almost instinctive deference to what has been the practice of centuries. The Tibetan, who unhesitatingly believes the Deity to dwell incarnate in the world, and who grossly thinks he perpetuates a prayer by the motion of a wheel, and the Hindoo, who piously considers his partial gods to delight in forms of stone or clay, would indeed still resist the uncongenial innovations of strangers ; but the spirit which erected temples to Shakya the Seer from the torrid to the frigid zone, or which raised the Brahmins high above all other Indian races, and which led them to triumph in poetry and philosohpy, is no longer to be found in its ancient simplicity and vigour. The Boodhist and the reverer of the Veds, is indeed each satisfied with his own chance of a happy immortality, but he is indifferent about the general reception of truth, and, while he will not himself be despotically interfered with, he cares not what may be the fate of others, or

Urjoon and Soorjun He was slain by them, but behold ! a rock opened and Googa again sprang forth armed and mounted. Another account makes him the lord of Durd-Durehra in the wastes of Rajwarra, and this corresponds in some degree with what Tod (*Rajasthan*, ii. 417) says of the same champion, who died fighting against the armies of Mehood.

what becomes of those who differ from him. Even the Mahometan, whose imagination must not be assisted by any visible similitude, is prone to invest the dead with the powers of intercessors, and to make pilgrimages to the graves of departed mortal; and we should now look in vain for any general expression of that feeling which animated the simple Arabian disciple, or the hardy Toorkmun convert, to plant thrones across the fairest portion of the ancient hemisphere. It is true that, in the Mahometan world, there are still many zealous individuals, and many mountain and pastoral tribes, who will take up arms, as well as become passive martyrs, for their faith, and few will deny that Turk, and Persian, and Puthan would more readily unite for conscience sake under the banner of Mahomet, than Russian, and Swede, and Spainard are ever likely to march under one common "Labarum." The Mussulman feels proudly secure of his path to salvation; he will resent the exhortations of those whom he pities or contemns as wanderers, and, unlike the Hindoo and the Boodhist, he is still actively desirous of acquiring merit by adding to the number of true believers. But Boodhist, and Brahminits, and Mahometan, have each an instructed body of ministers, and each confides in an authoritative ritual, or in a revealed law. Their reason and their hopes are both satisfied, and hence the difficulty of converting them to the Christian faith by the methods of the civilized moderns. Our missionaries, earnest and devoted men, must be content with the cold arguments of science and criticism; they must not rouse the feelings, or appeal to the imagimation; they cannot promise aught which their hearers were not

sure of before; they cannot go into the desert to fast, nor retire to the mountain tops to pray; they cannot declare the fulfilment of any fondly cherished hope of the people, nor, in announcing a great principle, can they point to the success of the sword and the visible favour of the Divinity. No austerity of sanctitude convinces the multitude, and the Pundit and the Moolah can each oppose dialectics to dialectics, morality to morality, and revelation to revelation. Our zealous preachers may create sects among ourselves, half Quietist and half Epicurean, they may persevre in their laudable resolution of bringing up the orphans of heathen parents, and they may gain some converts among intelligent inquirers as well as among the ignorant and the indigent, but it seems hopeless that they should ever Christianise the Indian and Mahometan worlds. *

The observers of the ancient creeds quietly pursue the even tenor of their way, self satisfied and almost indifferent about others; but the Sikhs are converts to a new religion, the seal of the double dispensation of

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* The masses can only be convinced by means repudiated by reason and the instructed intellect of man, and the futility of endeavouring to convince the learned by argument is exemplified in Martyn's Persian Controversies translated by Dr. Lee, in the discussions carried on between the Christian missionaries at Allahabad and the Mahometan Moollas at Lucknow, in Rammohun Roy's work on Deism and the Vedas and in the published correspondence of the Tuttubodhinee Subha of Calcutta. For an instance of the satisfaction of the Hindoos with *their* creed, see Moorcroft, *Travels*, i. 118, where some Oodassees commend *him* for believing like them, in a God!

Brumha and Mahomet: *their* enthusiam is still fresh, and *their* faith is still an active and a living principle. *They* are persuaded that God himself is present with them, that he supports them in all *their* endeavours, and that sooner or later He will confound *their* enemies for His own glory. This feeling of the Sikh people deserves the attention of the English, both as a civilized nation and as a paramount government. Those who have heard a follower of Goroo Govind declaim on the destinies of his race, his eye wild with enthusiasm and every mucsle quivering with excitement, can understand *that* spirit which impelled the naked Arab against the mail clad troops of Rome and Persia, and which led our own chivalrous and believing forefathers through Europe to battle for the cross on the shores of Asia. The Sikhs do not form a numerous sect, yet their strength is not to be estimated by tens of thousands, but by the unity and energy of religious fervor and warlike temperament. They will dare much, and they will endure much, for the mystic "Khalsa" or commonwealth; they are not discouraged by defeat, and they ardently look forward to the day when Indians and Arabs, and Persians and Turks, shall all acknowledge the double mission of Nanuk and Govind Singh.

The characteristics of race are perhaps more deep seated and enduring than those of religion; but, in considering any people, the results of birth and breeding, of descent and instruction, must be held jointly in view. The Juts or Jats are known in the north and west of India as industrio[illegible] rs of the soil, and as hardy yeo[illegible] ake up arms



and to follow the plough. They form, perhaps, the finest rural population in India. On the Jumna their general superiority is apparent, and Bhurtpoor bears witness to their merits, while on the Sutlej religious reformation and political ascendancy have each served to give spirit to their industry and activity and purpose to their courage.* The Raines, the Malees, and some others, are not inferior to the Juts in labouriousness and sobriety, although they are so in enterprise and resolution. The Rajpoots are always brave men, and they form, too, a desirable peasantry. The Goojers everywhere prefer pasturage to the plough, whether of the Hindoo or Mahometan faith. The Belotches do not become careful cultivators even when long settled in the plains, and the tribes adjoining the hills are of a disposition turbulent and predatory. They mostly devote themselves to the rearing of camels, and they traverse Upper India in charge of herds of that useful animal. The Afghans are good husbandmen when they have been accustomed to peace in the plains of India, or when they feel secure in their own valleys, but they are even of a more turbulent character than the Belotches, and they are everywhere to be met with

* Under the English system of selling the proprietary right in villages when the old freeholder or former purchaser may be unable to pay the land tax, the Jats of Upper India are gradually becoming the possessors of the greater portion of the soil, a fact which the author first heard on the high authority of Mr. Thomason, the Lieutenant-Governor of the North Western Provinces. It is a common saying that if a Jat has fifty rupees, he will rather dig a well or buy a pair of bullocks with the money than spend it on the idle rejoicings of a marriage.

as mercenary soldiers. Both races are, in truth, in their own country little better than freebooters, and the Mahometan faith has mainly helped them to justify their excesses against unbelievers, and to keep them together under a common banner for purposes of defence or aggression. The Khutrees and Uroras of the cities and towns are enterprising as merchants and frugal as tradesmen. They are the principal financiers and accountants of the country ; but the ancient military spirit frequently reappears amongst the once royal "Khshutrees," and they become able governors of provinces and skilful leaders of armies.* The industry and mechanical skill of the stout-limbed prolific Cashmeerees

* Hurree Singh, a Sikh, and the most enterprising of Runjeet Singh's generals, was a Khutree ; and the best of his governors, Mohkum Chund and Sowun Mull, were of the same race. The learning of Boloo Mull, a Khunna Khuttree and a follow. of the Sikh chief of Alhoowaleea, excites some little jealousy among the Brahmins of Lahore and of the Jalundhur Dooab ; and Chundoo Lal, who so long managed the affairs of the Nizam of Hydrabad, was a Khutree of Northern India, and greatly encouraged the Sikh mercenaries in that principality in opposition to the Arabs and Afghans. The declension of the Khutrees from soldiers and sovereigns into traders and shopkeepers, has a parallel in the history of the Jews. Men of active minds will always find employment for themselves, and thus we know what Greeks became under the victorious Romans, and what they are under the ruling Turks. We likewise know that the vanquished Moors were the most industrious of the subjects of mediæval Spain ; that the Moghuls of British India are gradually applying themselves to the business of exchange, and it is plain that the traffickers as well as the priests of Saxon England, Frankish Gaul, and Gothic Italy, must have been chiefly of Roman descent.

are as well known as their poverty, their tameness of spirit, and their loose morality. The people of the hills south and east of Cashmeer, are not marked by any peculiar and well determined character, excepting that the few unmixed Rajpoots possess the personal courage and the pride of race which distinguish them elsewhere, and that the Gukkers still cherish the remembrance of the times when they resisted Baber and aided Humaioon. The Tibetans, while they are careful cultivators of their diminutive fields rising tier upon tier, are utterly debased in spirit, and at present they seem incapable of independence and even of resistance to gross oppression. The system of polyandry obtains among them, not as a perverse law, but as a necessary institution. Every spot of ground within the hill which can be cultivated, has been under the plough for ages; the number of mouths must remain adapted to the number of acres, and the proportion is preserved by limiting each proprietary family to one giver of children. The introduction of Mahometanism in the west, by enlarging the views of the people and promoting emigration, has tended to modify this rule, and even among the Lamaic Tibetans any casual influx of wealth, as from trade or other sources, immediately leads to the formation of separate establishments by the several members of a house.* The wild tribes of Chibhs and

* Regarding the polyandry of Ludakh, Moorcroft (*Travels*, ii. 321, 322) may be referred to, and also the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for* 1844, p. 202 &c. The effects of the system on bastardy seem marked, and thus out of 760 people in the little district of Hungrung, around the junction of the Sutlej and Pittee (or Spiti) rivers, there were

Buhows in the hills, the Juns and Kathees, and the Doghers and Bhuttes of the plains, need not be particularly described; the idle and predatory habits of some and the quiet pastoral occupations of others, are equally the result of position as of character. The Juns and Kathees tall, comely, and long-lived races, feed vast herds of camels and black cattle, which furnish the towns with the prepared butter of the east, and provide the people themselves with their loved libations of milk.*

The limits of creeds and races which have been described must not be regarded as permanent. Throughout India there are constant petty migrations of the agricultural population taking place. Political oppression, or droughts, or floods, cause the inhabitants of a village, or of a district to seek more favoured tracts and there are always chiefs and rulers who are ready to welcome industrious emigrants and to assign them lands on easy terms. This causes some fluctuation in the distinction of races, and as in India the tendency

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found to be 26 bastards, which gives a proportion of about 1 in 29; and as few grown-up people admitted themselves to be illegitimate, the number may even be greater. In 1835 the population of England and Wales was about 14,750,000 and the number of bastards affiliated (before the new poor law came into operation) was 65,475, or 1 in about 226 (*Wade's British History*, pp 1041—1055); and even should the number so born double those affiliated, the proportion would still speak against polyandry as it affects female purity.

* "On milk sustained, and blest with length of days,
The Hippomolgi, peaceful, just, and wise."
Iliad, xiii. *Cowper's Translation*.

is to a distinction or separation of families, the number of clans or tribes has become almost infinite. Within the Sikh dominions the migrations of the Belotches up the Indus are not of remote occurence, while the occupation by the Sindhian Daoodpotras of the Lower Sutlej took place within the last hundred years. The migration of the Doghers from Delhi to Feerozpoor, and of the Johyas from Marwar to Pakputtum also on the Sutlej are historical rather than traditional, while the hardworking Hindoo Mehtums are still moving family by family and village by village, eastward away from the Raree and Chenab, and are insinuating themselves among less industrious but more warlike tribes.

Although religious wars scarcely take place among the Boodhists, Brahminists, and Mahometans of the present day, and although religious fervor has almost disappeared from among the professors at least of the two former faiths, proselytism is not unknown to any of the three creeds, and Mahometanism, as possessing still a strong vitality within it, will long continue to find converts among the ignorant and the barbarous. Islamism is extending up the Indus from Iskardo towards Leh, and is thus incroaching upon the more worn-out Boodhism; while the limits of the idolatrous "Kafirs," almost bordering on Peshwur, are daily becoming narrower. To the south and eastward of Cashmeer, Mahometanism has also had recent triumphs, and in every large city and in every Mussulman principality in India, there is reason to believe that the religion of the Arabian prophet is gradually gaining ground. In the Himalayas to the eastward of Kishtwar, the Rajpoot conquerors have not carried Brahminism

beyond the lower valleys ; and into the wilder glens, occupied by the ignorant worshippers of local divinities, the Boodhists have recently begun to advance, and Lamas of the red or yellow sects are now found where none had set foot a generation ago. Among the forest tribes of India the influence of the Brahmins continues to increase, and every Bheel or Gond, or Kohlee who acquires power or money, desires to be thought a Hindoo rather than a "Mletcha ;"* but, on the other hand, the Indian laity has, during the last few hundred yeards, largely assumed to itself the functions of the priesthood, and although Hindooism may lose no votaries, Gosayens and secular Sadhs usurp the authority of Brahmins in the direction of the conscience. The Sikhs continue to make converts, but chiefly within the limits of their dependent sway, for the colossal power of the English has arrested the progress of their arms to the eastward, and has left the Juts of the Jumna and Ganges to their old idolatry.

* Half of the principality of Bhopal, in Central India, was founded on usurpations from the Gonds, who appear to have migrated in force towards the west about the middle of the seventeenth century, and to have made themselves supreme in the valley of the Nerbudda about Hashungabad, in spite of the exertions of Aurungzeb, until an Afghan adventurer attacked them on the decline of the empire, and completely subdued them. The Afghan converted some of the vanquished to his own faith, partly by force and partly by conferring Jagheers, partly to acquire merit and partly to soothe his conscience, and there are now several families of Mahometan Gonds in the possession of little fiefs on either side of the Nerbudda. These men have more fully got over the gross superstition of their race, than the Gonds who have adopted Hindooism.

CHAPTER II.

OLD INDIAN CREEDS, MODERN REFORMS, AND THE TEACHING OF NANUK, UP TO 1529 A. D.

The Boodhists.—The Brahmins and Khutrees.—Reaction of Boodhism on victorious Brahminism.—Latitude of orthodoxy.— Shunkur Acharj and Saivism.—Monastic orders.—Ramanooj and Vaishnuvism.—The Doctrine of Maya.—The Mahometan conquest.—The reciprocal action of Brahminism and Mahometanism.—The successive innovations of Ramanund, Gorukhnath, Kubeer, Cheitun, and Vullbh.—The reformation of Nanuk.

THE condition of India from remote ages to the present time, is an episode in the history of the world inferior only to the fall of Rome and the establishment of Christianity. At an early period, the Asiatic peninsula, from the southern "Ghats" to the Himalayan mountains, would seem to have been colonized by a warlike subdivision of the Caucasian race, which spoke a language similar to the ancient Medic and Persian, and which here and there, near the greater rivers and the shores of the ocean, formed orderly communities professing a religion resembling the worship of Babylon and Egypt—a creed which, under varying types, is still the solace of a large portion of mankind. "Aryavurt," the land of good men or believers, comprised Dehli and Lahore, Goojrat and Bengal; but it was on the banks of the Upper Ganges that the latent energies of the people first received an impulse, which produced the

peculiar civilization of the Brahmins, and made a few heroic families supreme from Arachosia to the Golden Chersonese. India illustrates the power of Darius and the greatness of Alexander, the philosophy of Greece and the religion of China; and while Rome was contending with Germans and Cimbri and yielding to Goths and Huns, the Hindoos absorbed, almost without an effort, swarms of Scythic barbarians: they dispersed Sacæ,* they enrolled Getæ among their most famous tribes,† and they made others serve as their valiant defenders.‡ India afterwards checked the victorious

* Vikrumajeet derived his title of Sakaree from his exploits against the Sacæ (Sakæ). The race is still perhaps preserved pure in the wilds of Tartary, between Yarkund and the Mansarawur Lake, where the *Sokpos* called Kelmaks [Calmucs] by the Mahometans, continue to be dreaded by the people of Tibet.

† The Getæ are referred to as the same with the ancient Chinese Yuechi, and the modern Juts or Jats, but their identity is as yet perhaps rather a reasonable conclusion than a logical or critical deduction.

‡ The four Agneekoola tribes of Khutrees or Rajpoots are here alluded to, viz. : the Chohans, Solunkees, Powars (or Prumars), and the Purihars. The unnamed progenitors of these races seem clearly to have been invaders who sided with the Brahmins in their warfare, partly with the old Khutrees, partly with increasing schismatics, and partly with invading Grœco-Bactrians, and whose warlike merit, as well as timely aid and subsequent conformity, got them enrolled as "fireborn," in contradistinction to the solar and lunar families. The Agneekoolas are now mainly found in the tract of country extending from Oojein to Rewah near Benares, and Mount Aboo is asserted to be the place of their miraculous birth or appearance. Vikrumajeet, the champion of Brahminism, was a Powar according to the common accounts.

career of Islam, but she could not wholly resist the fierce enthusiasm of the Toorkmun hordes ; she became one of the most splendid of Mahometan empires, and the character of the Hindoo mind has been parmanently altered by the genius of the Arabian prophet. The well-being of India's industrious millions is now linked with the fate of the foremost nation of the West, and the representatives of Judæan faith and Roman polity will long wage a war of principles with the speculative Brahmin, the authoritative Moolla, and the hardy believing Sikh.

The Brahmins and their valiant Khutrees had a long and arduous contest with that ancient faith of India, which, as successively modified, become famous as Boodhism.* When Munnoo wrote, perhaps nine centuries

* The relative priority of Brahminism and Boodhism continues to be argued and disputed among the learned. The wide diffusion at one period of Boodhism in India is as certain as the later predominance of Brahminism ; but the truth seems to be that they are of independent origin, and that they existed for a long time contemporaneously ; the former chiefly in the south-west, and the latter about Oude and Tirhoot. It is not, however, necessary to suppose, with M. Burnouf, that Boodhism is purely and originally Indian. (*Introduction a l'Histoire du Buddhisme Indien*, Avertissement i.) Notwithstanding the probable derivation of the name from the Sanscrit "boodee," intelligence ; or from the "bo" orb "odee," *i. e.* the *ficus religiosa* or peepul tree. The Brahminical genius gradually received a development which rendered the Hindoos proper supreme throughout the land; but their superior learning became of help to their antagonists, and Gowtum, himself a Brahmin or a Khutree, would appear to have taken advantage of the knowledge of the hierarchy to give a purer and more scientific form to Boodhism, and thus to become its great apostle in

before Christ, when Alexander conquered, and even seven hundred years afterwards, when the obscure Fahian travelled and studied, there were kingdoms ruled by others than "Arayas;" and ceremonial Boodhism, with its indistinct apprehensions of a divinity, had more votaries than the monotheism of the Veds, which admitted no similitude more gross than fire, or air or the burning sun.* During this period the genius of

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sueceeding times. Of the modern faiths, *Saivism* perhaps most correctly represents the original Vedic worship. (Compare Wilson, *As. Res.*, xvii. 171, &c., and *Vishnoo Pooran*, Preface, lxiv.) *Jainism* and *Vaishnuvism* are the resultants of the two beliefs in a Boodhish and Brahminical dress respectively, while *Saktism* still vividly illustrates the old superstition of the masses of the people whose ignorant minds quailed before the dread goddess of famine, pestilence, and death. The most important monument of Boodhism now remaining is perhaps the "tope" or hemisphere, near Bhilsa in Central India, which it is a disgrace to the English that they partially destroyed a generation ago in search of imaginary chambers, or vessels containing relics, and are only now about to have delineated, and so made available to the learned. The numerous *bas-reliefs* of its singular stone inclosure still vividly represent the manners as well as the belief of the India of Asoka, and show that the Tree, the Sun, and the S'toopa (or "tope") itself—apparently the type of Meroo or the Central Mount of the World—were, along with the impersonated Boodha, the principal objects of adoration at that period, and that the country was then partly peopled by a race of men wearing high caps and short tunics, so different from the ordinary dress of Hindoos.

* "There seem to have been no images and no visible types of the objects of worship," says Mr. Elphinstone, in his most useful and judicious *History* (i. 73), quoting Professor Wilson, *Oxford Lectures*, and the *Vishnoo Pooran*; while, with regard to fire, it is to be remembered that in the Old Testament,

Hindooism became fully developed, and the Brahmins rivalled the Greeks in the greatness and the variety of their triumphs. Epic poems show high imaginative and descriptive powers, and the Ramayoon and Muhabharut still move the feelings and affect the character of the people. Mathematical science was so perfect, and astronomical observation so complete, that the paths of the sun and moon were accurately measured. * The philosophy of the learned few was, perhaps, for the first time, firmly allied with the theology of the believing many, and Brahminism laid down as articles

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and even in the New, it is the principal symbol of the Holy Spirit. (Strauss, *Life of Jesus*, 361.) The Veds, however, allude to personified energies and attributes, but the monotheism of the system is not more affected by the introduction of the creating Brumha, the destroying Siva, and other minor powers, than the omnipotence of Jehovah is interfered with by the hierarchies of the Jewish heaven. Yet, in truth, much has to be learnt with regard to the Veds and Vedantism, notwithstanding the invaluable labours of Colebrooke and others, and the useful commentary or interpretation of Rammohun Roy. (*Asiatic Researches*, viii ; *Transactions. Royal Asiatic Society*, i. and ii ; and *Rammohun Roy on the Veds*). The translation of the *Vedant Sar* in *Ward's Hindoos* (ii. 17;), and the improved version of Dr Roer (*Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Feb. 1845, No. 108.), may be consulted with advantage. If translators would repeat the Sanscrit terms with expanded meanings in English instead of using terms of the scholastic or modern systems which seem to them to be equivalent, they would materially help students to understand the real doctrine of the original speculators.

* The so called solar year in common use in India takes no account of the precession of the equinoxes, but, as a sidereal year, it is almost exact. The revolution of the points of intersection

of faith, the unity of God, the creation of the world, the immortality of the soul, and the responsibility of man. The remote dwellers upon the Ganges distinctly made known that future life about which Moses is silent or obscure,* and that unity and omnipotence of the Creator which were unknown to the polytheism of the Greek and Roman multitude, † and to the dualism of the Mithraic legislators; while Vyasa

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of the ecliptic and equator nevertheless appears to have been long known to the Hindoos, and some of their epochs were obviously based on the calculated period of the phenomenon. (Compare Mr. Davis's paper in the *As. Res.*, vol. ii. and *Bentley's Astronomy of the Hindoos*, pp. 2—6. 88.)

*One is almost more willing to admit that, in effect, the Jews generally held Jehovah to be *their* God only, or a limitary divinity, than that the wise and instructed Moses (whom Strabo held to be an Egyptian priest and a Pantheist, as quoted in *Volney's Ruins*, ch. xxii. sec. 9, note) could believe in the perishable nature of the soul; but the critical Sadducees nevertheless so interpreted their prophet, although the Egyptians his masters were held by Herodotus (*Euterpe*, cxxiii.) to be the first who *defended* the undying nature of the spirit of man. Socrates and Plato, with all their longings, could only feel assured that the soul had more of immortality than aught else. (*Phædo*, *Sydenham and Taylor's translation*, iv. 324.)

† The unknown God of the Athenians, Fate, the avenging Nemesis, and other powers independent of Zeus or Jupiter, show the dissatisfaction of the aneient mind with the ordinary mythology; and unless modern criticism has detected interpolations, perhaps both Bishop Thirlwall (*History of Greece*, i. 192. &c.), and Mr. Grote (*History of Greece*, i. 3 and chap. xvi. Part i. generally), have too much disregarded the sense which the pious and admiring Cowper gave to Homer's occasional mode of using "theos." (*Odyssey*, xiv. with Cowper's note, p. 48. vol. ii. Edition of 1802.)

perhaps surpassed Plato in keeping the people tremblingly alive to the punishment which awaited evil deeds * The immortality of the soul was indeed encumbered with the doctrine of transmigarationt†, the active virtues were perhaps deemed less meritorious

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* Ritter (*Ancient Philosophy*, ii. 387.) labors to excuse Plato for his "*inattention*" to the subject of duty or obligation, on the plea that the Socratic system did not admit of necessity or of a compulsory principle. Bacon lies open in an inferior degree to the same objection as Plato, of underrating the importance of moral philosophy (compare *Hallam's Literature of Europe*, iii. 191. and Macaulay, *Edinburgh Review*, July. 1837, p. 84.) ; and yet a strong sense of duty towards God is essential to the well-being of society, if not to systems of transcendental or material philosophy. In the East, however, philosophy has always been more closely allied to theology than in civilized Greece or modern Europe. Plato, indeed, arraigns the dead and torments the souls of the wicked (see for instance *Gorgias*, *Sydenham and Taylor's Translation*, iv. 451.), and practically among men the doctrine may be effective or sufficient ; but with the Greek piety is simply justice towards the gods, and a matter of choice or pleasure on the part of the imperishable human spirit. (Compare *Schleiermacher's Introductions to Plato's Dialogues*, p. 181, &c., and *Ritter's Ancient Philosophy*, ii. 374.) Nor can it be distinctly said that Vyasa taught the principle of grateful righteousness as now understood to be binding on men, and to constitute their duty and obligation ; and probably the Indian may merely have the advantage of being a theological teacher instead of an ontological speculator.

† The more zealous Christian writers on Hindoo theology seize upon the doctrine of transmigration as limiting the freedom of the will and the degree of isolation of the soul, when thus successively manifested in the world clouded with the imperfection of previous appearances. A man, it is said, thus becomes subject to the Fate of the Greeks and Romans. (Compare *Ward on the Hindoos*, ii. *Introductory Remarks*, xxviii, &c.) But the

than bodily austerities and mental abstraction, and the Brahmin polity was soon fatally clogged with the dogma of inequality among men, and with the institution of a body of hereditary guardians of religion.*

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soul so weighed down with the sins of a former existence does not seem to differ in an ethical point of view, and as regards our conduct in the present life, from the soul encumbered with the sin of Adam. Philosophically, the notions seem equally but modes of accounting for the existence of evil, or for its sway over men..

* The system of *caste*, as it has become developed in India, as it obtained in Egypt and in Persia, as it was exemplified in an ancient "Gens" with its separate religious rites and hereditary usages, as it partially obtained in Europe during the Middle Ages, and as it exists even now, is worthy of an essay distinguished by the ripest scholarship, and by the widest experience of life and knowledge of the human mind. In India it has evidently been an institution of gradual progress up to the pernicious perfection of latter days, and in early times the bounds were less markedly defined, or less carefully observed, than during the last few hundred years. The instance of Viswamitr's aequisition of Brahminhood is well known, as is Vikrumajeet's almost successful desire of attaining to the same emience Vyasa likewise raised a Soodra to an equality with the priestly class, and his descendants are still looked upon as Brahmins, although inferior in degree. (*Ward on the Hindoos*, i. 85, and see *Munnoo's Institutes*, chap. x. 42--72 &c., for admissions that merit could open the ranks of caste.) Even in the present generation, some members of the Jut Sikh family of Sindhanwala, related to that of Runjeet Singh, made an attempt to be admitted to a participation in the social rites of Khutrees ; and it may be assumed as certain that had the conquering Moghuls and Puthans been without a vivid belief and an organized priesthood, they would have adopted Vedism and have become enrolled among the Khutrees or ruling races.

The Brahmins succeeded in expelling the Boodhist faith from the Indian peninsula, and when Shunkur Acharj journeyed and disputed nine hundred years after Christ, a few learned men, and the inoffensive half conforming Jeins,* alone remained to represent the "Mletchas," the barbarians or "gentiles" of Hindooism. The Khutrees had acquired kingdoms, heathen princes had been subdued or converted, and the Brahmins, who ever denounced as prophets rather than preached

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Perhaps the reformer Ramanund expressed the original principle of Indian sacerdotal caste when he said that Kubeer the weaver had become a Brahmin by knowing Bruhm or God. (*The Dabistan*, ii 188.)

The Mahometans of India fancifully divide themselves into four classes, after the manner of the Hindoos, viz. Syeds, Shekhs, Moghuls, and Puthans. All are noble, indeed, but the former two, as representing the tribe of Mahomet, and the direct progeny of Alee his son-in-law, are preeminent. It is likewise a fact, at least in the north-west, that a Khutree convert from Hindooism, or any convert from Sikhism, is styled a Shekh, and that converts of inferior races are classed as Moghuls and Puthans. Doubtless a Brahmin who should become a Mahometan, would at once be classed among the Svdes.

* The modern Jeins frankly admid the connection of their faith with that of the Boodhists, and the Jeinee traders of Eastern Malwa claim the ancient "Tope," near Bhilsa, as virtually a temple of their own creed. The date of the general recognition of the Jeins as a sect is doubtful, but it is curious that the "Kosh," or vocabulary of Ummer Singh, does not contain the word Jein, although the word "Jin" is enumerated among the names of Mayadevee, the regent goddess of the material universe, and the mother of Gowtum, the Boodhist patriarch or prophet. In the Bhagavut, again, Bowdh is represented as the son of Jin, and as about to appear in Keekut Des, or Behar.

as missionaries, were powerless in foreign countries if no royal inquirer welcomed them, or if no ambitious warrior followed them. Hindooism had attained its limits, and the victory brought with it the seeds of decay. The mixture with strangers led to a partial adoption of their usages, and man's desire for sympathy ever prompted him to seek an object of worship more nearly allied to himself in nature than the invisible and passionless divinity.* The concession of a simple black stone as a mark of direction to the senses,† no longer satisfied the hearts or understandings of the people, and Shunkur Acharj, who could silence the Bauddha materialist, and confute the

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* Mr. Elphinstone (*History of India*, i. 189.) observes that Rama and Krishna, with their human feelings and congenial acts, attracted more votaries than the gloomy Siva, and I have somewhere noticed, I think in the Edinburgh Review, the truth well-enlarged upon, viz. that the sufferings of Jesus materially aided the growth of Christianity by enlisting the sympathies of the multitude in favour of a crucified God. The bitter remark of Xenophanes, that if oxen became religious their gods would be bovine in form, is indeed most true as expressive of a general desire among men to make their divinities anthropomorphous. (Grote, *History of Greece*, iv. 523., and Thirwall, *History*, ii. 136.)

† Hindoo Saivism, or the worship of the Lingam, seems to represent the compromise which the learned Brahminsm made when they endeavoured to exalt and purify the superstition of the multitude, who throughout India continue to this day to see the mark of the near presence of the Divinity in every thing. The Brahmins may thus have taught the mere Fetichist, that when regarding a simple black stone, they should think of the invisible ruler of the universe; and they may have wished to leave the Boodhist image worshippers some point of direction for the senses. That the Lingam is typical of reproductive

infidel Charvak,* was compelled to admit the worship of Virtues and Powers, and to allow images, as well as formless types, to be enshrined in temples. The "self-existent" needed no longer to be addressed direct, and the orthodox could pay his devotions to the Preserving Vishnoo, to the Destroying Siva, to the Regent of the Sun, to Gunes, the helper of men, or to the reproductive energy of nature personified as woman, with every assurance that his prayers would be heard, and his offerings accepted, by the Supreme Being.†

The old Brahmin worship had been domestic or solitary, and that of the Boodhists public or congregational ; the Brahmin ascetic separated himself from his fellows, but the Boodhist hermit became a cœnobite, the member of a community of devotees ; the Brahmin

energy seems wholly a notion of later times, and to be confined to the few who ingeniously or perversely see recondite meanings in ordinary similitudes. (Comare Wilson, *Vishnoo Pooran*, Preface, lxiv.)

* Professor Wilson (*Asiatic Researches*, xvi. 18.) derives the title of the Charvak school from a Moonee or seer of that name ; but the Brahmins, at least of Malwa, derive the distinctive name, both of the teacher and of the system, from *Charoo*, persuasive, excellent, and *Vak*, speech,—thus making the school simply the logical or dialectic, or perhaps sophistical, as it has become in fact. The Charvakites are wholly materialist, and in deriving consciousness from a particular aggregation or condition of the elements of the body, they seem to have anticipated the physiologist Dr. Lawrence, who makes the brain to secrete thought as the liver secretes bile. (Compare Wilson, *As. Res.*, xvii. 308. and *Troyer's Dabistan*, ii. 198, note.)

† The five sects enumerated are still held to represent the most orthodox varieties of Hindooism.

reared a family before he became an anchorite, but the Boodhist vowed celibacy and renounced most of the pleasures of sense. These customs of the vanquished had their effect upon the conquerors, and Shunkur Acharj, in his endeavour to strengthen orthodoxy, enacted the double part of St. Basil and Pope Honorius.* He established a monastery of Brahmin ascetics; he converted the solitary "Dundee," with his staff and waterpot, into one of an order, a monk or friar, at once cœnobitic and mendicant, who lived upon alms and who practised chastity.† The *order* was

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* All scholars and inquirers are deeply indebted to Professor Wilson for the account he has given of the Hindoo sects in the sixteenth and seventeenth voloumes of the Asiatic Researches. The works, indeed, which are abstracted, are in the hands of many people in India, particularly the Bhuggut Mala (or History of the Saints) and its epitomes; but the advantage is great of being able to study the subject with the aid of the notes of a deep scholar personally acquainted with the country. It is only to be regretted that Professor Wilson has not attempted to trace the progress of opinion or reform among sectaries; but neither does such a project appear to have occurred to Mr. Ward, in his elaborate and valuable but piecemeal volumes on the Hindoos. Mohsun Fanee, who wrote the Dabistan, has even less of sequence or of argument, but the observations and views of an intelligent, although garrulous and somewhat credulous Mahometan, who flourished nearly two centuries ago, have nevertheless a peculiar value; and Capt Troyer's careful translation has now rendered the book accessible to the English public.

† Shunkur Acharj was a Brahmin of the south of India, and according to Professor Wilson (*As. Res.*, xvii. 180), he flourished during the eighth or ninth century: but his date is doubtful, and if, as is commonly said, Ramanooj was his disciple and sister's son, he perhaps lived a century or a century

rendered still further distinct by the choice of Siva as the truest type of God, an example which was soon followed; and, during the eleventh century, Ramanooj established a fraternity of Brahmins, named after himself, who adopted some refined rules of conduct, who saw the Deity in Vishnoo, and who degraded the Supreme Being by attributing to him form and qualities.* A consequence of the institution of an order or fraternity is the necessity of attention to its rules, or to the injunctions of the spiritual superior. The person of a Brahmin had always been held sacred. It was believed

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and a half later. He is believed to have established four "muths," or monasteries, or denominations, headed by the four out of his ten instructed disciples, who faithfully adhered to his views. The adherents of these four are specially regarded as "Dundees," or, including the representatives of the six heretical schools, the whole are called "Dusnames." (Compare, Wilson, *As. Res.*, xvii. 169. &c.)

* Ramanooj is variously stated to have lived some time between the beginning of the eleventh, and the end of the twelfth century. (Wilson, *As. Res.*, xvi. 28, note.) In Central India he is understood to have told his uncle that the path which he, Shunkur Acharj, had chosen, was not the right one; and the nephew accordingly seceded and established the first four "sumprdaees," or congregations, in opposition to the "muths" or orders of his teacher, and at the same time chose Vishnoo as the most suitable type of God. Ramanooj styled his congregation that of Sree, or Lukshmee. The other three were successively founded by 1st, Madhuv; 2ndly, by Vishnoo Swamee and his better known follower Vullubh; and 3rdly, by Nimbharuk or Nimbhaditya. These, although all Vaishnuvees, called their assemblies or schools respectively after Brumha, and Siva, and Sunnukadik, a son of Brumha. (Compare Wilson, *As. Res.*, xvi. 27, &c)

that a pious Boodhist could dísengage his soul or attain to divinity even in this world ; and when Shunkur Acharj rejected some of his chosen disciples for non-conformity or disobedience, he contributed to centre the growing feelings of reverence for the teacher solely upon a mortal man ; and, in a short time, it was considered that all things were to be abandoned for the sake of the " Gooro," and that to him were to be surrendered "Tun, Mun, Dhun," or body, mind, and worldly wealth. * Absolute submission to the spiritual master readily becomes a lively impression of the divinity of his mission ; the inward evidences of grace are too subtle for the understanding of the barbaric convert ; fixed observances take the place of sentiment, and he justifies his change of opinion by some material act of devotion.† But faith is the usual test of sincerity and pledge of favour among the sectarians of peaceful and instructed communities, and the reformers of India soon began to require such a declaration of mystic belief and reliance from the seekers of salvation.

Philosophic speculation had kept pace in diversity with religious usage : learning and wealth, and an

* Compare Wilson, *Asiatic Researches*, xvi. 90.

† The reader will remember the fervent exclamation of Clovis, when, listening after a victory to the story of the passion and death of Christ, he became a convert to the faith of his wife, and a disciple of the ancient pastor of Rheims : "Had I been present at the head of my valiant Franks, I would have revenged his injuries." (Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, vi. 302.) The Mahometans tell precisely the same story of Tymoor, and Hosein the son of Alee : "I would have hurried," said the conquering Tartar, "from remotest India, to have prevented or avenged the death of the martyred Imam."

extended intercourse with men, produced the ordinary tendency towards scepticism, and six orthodox schools opposed six heretical systems, and made devious attempts to acquire a knowledge of God by logical deductions from the phenomena of nature or of the human mind.* They disputed about the reality and the eternity of matter ; about consciousness and understanding ; and about life and the soul, as separate from, or as identical with, one another and with God. The results were, the atheism of some, the belief of others in a limitary deity, and the more general reception of the do ctrine of "Maya" or illusion, which allows sensation to be a true guide on this side of the grave, but sees nothing certain or enduring in the constitution of the material world ;—a doctrine eagerly adopted by

* The six orthodox schools will be found, among them, to represent nearly the three great philosophic systems of the Greeks, the ethical, the logical, and the physical ; or to be severally founded, in more modern language, on revelation (or morality), reason, and sense. Thus the first Mimans of Jeimunee, and the second Mimans or Vedant of Vyasa, being based on the Veds, correspond with the ethical schools of Pythagoras. The Nyaya, or logical system of Gowtum, corresponds with the dialectic school of Xenophanes. The Sankhya system proper of Koopel, and the modified Sankhya system of Puttunjul, known also as the Yog, being both material, seem to represent the physical or Ionic school of Thales ; while the Vaisheshik system of Kunad partakes of the dialectic as well as of the sensual : but it may be held to incline to the former, or to be classed with the Nyaya of Gowtum ; although its name Atomic, or particular, would place it side by side with the Sankhya, or material system. Mr. Ward (*On the Hindoos*, ii. 113,) attempts a more specific comparison with individual reasoners ;

the subsequent reformers, who gave it a moral or religious application.*

Such was the state of the Hindoo faith or polity a thousand years after Christ. The fitness of the original system for general adoption had been materially impaired by the gradual recognition of a distinction of

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but as yet we know too little of Indian philosophy, and perhaps even of the real import of Greek speculation, to render such parallels true or instructive. For some pertinent observations on the marked correspondence of the two systems, see Elphinstone, *History of India*, i. 234.

The six heretical systems of more modern or less ancient times comprise four Boodhist, viz. Sowtrantik, Madeomik, Yogachar, and Weibashik, and two Jein, viz. Degumber and Swetamber, the former of which, Degumber, denies salvation to women, or that they have immortal souls. Or if the Jein divisions be reckoned as forming one school only, the sixth is made up by adding the Charvak or Varhusputya system, which is wholly infidel, and is not connected with any popular creed. The name of Vrihusputtee, the orthodox regent of the planet Jupiter, became connected with atheism, say the Hindoos, owing to the jealousy with which the secondary and delegated powers of heaven saw the degree of virtue to which mankind was attaining by upright living and the contemplation of the Divinity; wherefore Vrihusputtee descended to confound the human understanding by diffusing the error.

* The *Maya* of the Hindoos may be considered under a threefold aspect, or morally, poetically, and philosophically.

Morally, it means no more than the vanity of Solomon (Ecclesiastes, i. and ii.), or the nothingness of this world ; and thus Kubeer likens it to delusion or evil, or to moral error in the abstract. (*Asiatic Researches*, xvi. 161,) The Indian reformers, indeed, made a use of *Maya* corresponding with the use made by the Apostle Saint John of the Logos of Plato, as Mr. Milman very judiciously observes. (Note in

race; the Brahmins had isolated themselves from the soldiers and the peasants, and they destroyed their own unanimity by admitting a virtual plurality of gods, and by giving assemblies of ascetics a preeminence over communities of pious householders. In a short time the gods were regarded as rivals, and their worshippers as antagonists. The rude Khutree warrior became a

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Gibbon's History, iii. 312.) The one adopted *Maya* to the Hindoo notions of a sinful world, and the other explained to Greek and Roman understandings the nature of Christ's relation to God by representing the divine intelligence to be manifested in the Messiah.

Poetically, Maya is used to denote a film before the eyes of gods and heroes, which limits their sight or sets bounds to their senses (*Heereen's Asiatic Nations*, iii. 203.); and similarly Pallas dispels a mist from before the eyes of Diomed, and makes the ethereal forms of divinities apparent to a mortal. (*Iliad*, v.) The popular speech of all countries contains proof of the persuasion that the imperfect powers of men render them unable to appreciate the world around them.

Philosophically, the Maya of the Vedant system (which corresponds to a certain extent with the Prukrittee of the Sankhya school, and with the Cosmic substance of Xenophanes, or more exactly with the Play of the Infinite Being of Heraclitus) seems identical with the idealism of Berkeley. The doctrine seems also to have had the same origin as the "Idola" system of Bacon; and thus, as an illusion or a false appearance, Maya is the opposite of Plato's "Idea," or the True. Ordinarily, Maya simply held to denote the apparent or sensible in opposition to the real, as when, according to the common illustration, a rope is taken for a snake. It is curious that in England and in India the same material argument should have been used to confute Berkeley's theory of dreams, and the Brahminical theory of illusion. An elephant was impelled against Shunkur Archarj, who maintained the unreal nature of his own body, and of all

politic chief, with objects of his own, and ready to prefer one hierarchy or one divinity to another ; while the very latitude of the orthodox worship, led the multitude to doubt the sincerity and the merits of a body of ministers who no longer harmonized among themselves.

A new people now entered the country, and a new element hastend the decline of corrupted Hindooism. India had but little felt the earlier incursions of the Arabs during the first and second centuries of the "Hijree;" and when the Abbasides became caliphs, they were more anxious to consolidate their vast empire, already weakened by the separation of Spain, than to waste their means of distant conquests which rebellion might soon dismember. The Arab, moreover, was no longer a single-minded enthusiastic soldier, but a selfish and turbulent viceroy ; the original impulse given by the

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around him ; and Dr. Johnson considered that he demolished the doctrine when, striking a stone with his foot he showed that he recoiled from it. But Shunkur Acharj had a readier wit than the supporters of the Bishop, and *he* retorted upon his adversaries when they rediculed his nimble steps to avoid the beast, that *all* was a fancy ; there was no Shunkur, no elephant, no flight,—all was a delusion. (*Dabistan*, ii. 103.)

Maya may also be said to be used in a fourth or political sense by the Indians, as in the Sahit or Neetee section of the "Urth Shastr," or fourth "Oopved," which treats among other things of the duties of rulers, it is allowed as one of the modes of gaining an end. But Maya, in the science in question, is used to signify rather secrecy, or strategy, or dexterous diplomacy, than gross deceit ; for fraud and falsehood are among the prohibited ways. Maya, it is said, may be employed to delude an enemy or to secure the obedience of subjects.

prophet to his countrymen had achieved its limit of conquest and Mahometanism required a new infusion of faith and hardihood to enable it to triumph over the heathens of Dehli and the Christians of Constantinople. This awakening spirit was acquired partly from the mountain Koords, but chiefly from the pastoral Toorkmuns, who, from causes imperfectly understood, were once more impelled upon the fertile and wealthy south. During the ninth century, those warlike shepherds began to establish themselves from the Indus to the Black Sea, and they oppressed and protected the empire of Mahomet, as Goths and Vandals and their own progenitors had before entered and defended and absorbed the dominions of Augustus and Trajan. Toghrul Beg and Saladin are the counterparts of Stilicho and Theodoric, and the Moollas and Syeds of Bagdad were as anxious for the conversion of unbelievers as the Bishops and Deacons of the Greek and Latin Churches. The migratory barbarians who fell upon Europe became Christians, and those who plundered Asia adopted, with perhaps greater ease and ardor, the more congenial creed of Islam. Their vague unstable notions yielded to the authority of learning and civilization, and to the majesty of one Omnipotent God, and thus armed with religion as a motive, and empire as an object, the Toorks precipitated themselves upon Indian and upon the diminished provinces of the Byzantine Cæsars.

Mehmood crossed the Indus in the year 1001, not long after Shunkur Acharj had vainly endeavoured to arrest the progress of heresy, and to give limits to the diversity of faith which perplexed his countrymen. The Punjab was permanently occupied, and before the

sultan's death, Canuuj and Goojrat had been overrun. The Ghuznevides were expelled by the Ghorees about 1183. Bengal was conquered by these usurpers, and when the Eibek Toorks supplanted them in 1206, Hindoostan became a separate portion of the Mahometan world. During the next hundred and fifty years the whole of India was subdued; a continued influx of Moghuls in the thirteenth, and of Afghans in the fifteenth century, added to their successive authority as rulers, gradually changed the language and the thoughts of the vanquished. The Khiljees and Toghluks and Lodees were too rude to be inquisitorial bigots; they had a lawful option in tribute, and taxation was more profitable, if less meritorious, than conversion. They adopted as their own the country which they had conquered. Numerous mosques attest their piety and munificence, and the introduction of the solar instead of the intractable lunar year, proves their attention to ordinary business and the wants of agriculture. * The Mahometans became Indianized; and, in the sixteenth

* The solar, *i. e.* really sidereal year, called the "Shuboor Sun," or vulgarly the "Soor Sun," that is, the year of (Arabic) months, was apparently introduced into the Deccan by Toghluk Shah, towards the middle of the fourteenth century of Christ, or between 1341 and 1344, and it is still used by the Mahrattas in all their more important documents, the dates being inserted in Arabic words written in Hindee (Mahrattee) characters. (Compare *Prinsep's Useful Tables*, ii. 30. who refers to a Report, by Lieut.-Col. Jervis, on Weights and Measures.) The other "Fuslee," or "harvest" years of other parts of India, were not introduced until the reigns of Akber and Shah Jehan, and they mostly continue to this day to be used, even by the English, in revenue accounts. The commencement of each

century, the great Akber conceived the design of establishing a national government or monarchy which should unite the elements of the two systems: but political obedience does not always denote social amalgamation, and the reaction upon the Moslem mind perhaps increased that intolerance of Aurungzeb which hastened the ruin of the dynasty.

The influence of a new people, who equalled or surpassed Khutrees in valour, who dispised the sanctity of Brahmins, and who authoritatively proclaimed the unity of God and his abhorrence of images, began gradually to operate on the minds of the multitudes of India, and recalled even the learned to the simple tenets of the Veds, which Shunkur Acharj had disregarded. The operation was necessarily slow, for the imposing system of powers and emanations had been adapted with much industry to the local or peculiar divinities of tribes and races, and in the lapse of ages the legislation of Munnoo had become closely interwoven with the thoughts and habits of the people. Nor did the proud distinctions of caste and the reverence shown to Brahmins, fail to attract the notice and the admiration of the barbarous victors. Shekhs and Syeds had an innate holiness assigned to them, and Moghuls and Puthans copied the exclusiveness of Rajpoots. New superstition

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might, without much violence, be adapted to the 1st July of any year of the Christian era, and the Mahometans and Hindoos could at the same time retain, the former the Hijree, and the latter the Shuk (Saka) and Sumbut, names of the months respectively. No greater degree of uniformity or simplicity is required, and the general predominance of the English would render a measure so obviously advantageous of easy introduction.

also emulated old credulity. "Peers" and "Shuheeds," saints and martyrs, equalled Krishna and Bheiruv in the number of their miracles, and the Mahometans almost forgot the unity of God in the multitude of intercessors whose aid they implored. Thus custom jarred with custom, and opinion with opinion, and while the few always fell back with confidence upon their revelations, the Koran and Veds, the public mind became agitated, and found no sure resting-place with Brahmins or Moollas, with Muhadeo or Mahomet. *

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* Gibbon has shown (*History*, ii. 356.) how the scepticism of learned Greeks and Romans proved favorable to the growth of Christianity, and a writer in the Quarterly Review (for June, 1846, p. 116.) makes some just observations on the same subject. The cause of the scepticism is not perhaps sufficiently attributed to the mixture of the Eastern and Western superstitions, which took place after the conquests of Alexander, and during the supremacy of Rome.

Similarly the influence of Mahometan learning and civilization in moulding the European mind, seems to be underrated in the present day, although Hallam (*Literature of Europe*, i. 90, 91, 149, 150, 157, 158, 189, 190.) admits our obligations in physical, and even in mental, *science*; and a representative of Oxford, the critical yet fanciful William Gray (*Sketch of English Prose Literature*, p. 22, 37.), not only admires the *fictions* of the East, but confesses their beneficial effect on the Gothic genius. The Arabs, indeed, were the preservers and diffusers of that science or knowledge which was brought forth in Egypt or India, which was reduced to order in Greece and Rome, and which has been so greatly extended in particular directions by the moderns of the West. The preeminence of the Mahometan over the Christian mind, was long conspicuous in the metaphysics of the schoolmen, and it is still apparent in the administrative system of Spain, in the common terms of astronomical and medicinal science, and in the popular songs of

The first result of the conflict was the institution, about the ent of the fourteenth century, of a comprehensive sect by Ramanund to Benares, a follower of the tenets of Ramanooj. Unity of faith or of worship had already been destroyed, and the conquest of the country by foreigners diminished unity of action among the ministers of religion. Learning had likewise declined, and poetic fancy and family tradition were allowed to modify the ancient legends of the "Poorans" or chronicles, and to usurp the authority of the Veds. * The heroic Rama was made the object of devotion to this

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feudal Europe, which ever refer to the Arabian prophet and to Turks and Saracens, or expatiate on the actions on the Cid, a Christian hero with a Mussulman title.

Whewell (*History of Inductive Sciences*, i, 22, 276), in demonstrating that the Arabs did very little, if aught, to *advance* exact science, physical or metaphysical, and in likening them to the servant who had the talent but put it not to use, might yet have excused them on the plea that the genius of the people was directed to the propagation of religious truth—to subjecting the Evil Principle to the Good in Persia, to restoring Monotheism in India, and to the subversion of gross idolatry in regions of Africa still untrodden by Europeans.

* Modern criticism is not disposed to allow an ancient date to the Poorans, and doubtless the interpolations are both numerous and recent, just as the ordinary copies of the rhapsodies of the Rajpoot Bhat, or Bard, Chund, contain allusions to dynasties and events subsequent to Pirthee Raj and Mehmood. The difficulty lies in separating the old from the new, and perhaps also objectors have too much lost sight of the circumstance that the criticized and less corrupted Ramayoon and Muhabharut are only the chief of the Poorans. They seem needlessly inclined to reject entirely the authority or authenticity of the Conventional Eighteen Chronicles, merely because eulogiums on modern families

new sect of the middle Ganges, and as the doctrine of the innate superiority of Brahmins and Khutrees had been rudely shaken by the Mahometan ascendancy, Ramanund seized npon the idea of man's equality before God. He instituted no nice distinctive observances, he admitted all classes of people as his disciples, and he declared that the true votary was raised above mere social forms, and became free or liberated.* During

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have been introduced by successive flatterers. Nevertheless the Poorans must rather be held to illustrate modes of thought, than to describe historical events with accuracy

* Compare *Dabistan*, ii, 179, and Wilson, *As. Res.*, xvi. 36 &c. Professor Wilson remarks (idem. p. 44, and also xvii. 183), that the sects of Shunkur Acharj and Ramanooj included Brahmins only, and indeed chiefly men of learning of that race. The followers of Ramanund, or the Vaishnuvees, were long violently opposed to the Saivic denominations ; so much so, according to tradition, that they would not, on any account, cross the Nerbudda river, which is held to be peculiarly sacred to Muhadeo or Muhes, but would rather in performing a journey go round by its sources.

Among the people of Central India there is a general persuasion that the Nerbudda will one day take the place of the Ganges as the most holy of streams ; but the origin of the feeling is not clear, as neither is the fact of the consecration of the river to Siva. At Muheswur, indeed, there is a whirlpool, which, by rounding and polishing fallen stones, rudely shapes them into resemblance of a Lingam, and which are as fertile a source of profit to the resident priests, as are the Vaishnuvee fossil ammonites of a particular part of the Himalayas. The labors of the whirlpool likewise diffuse a sanctitude over all the stones of the rocky channel, as expressed in the vernacular sentence, "Rehwa ke kunkur sub Sunkur suman," *i. e.* each stone of the Nerbudd (Rehwa) is divine, or equal to Siva.

the same century the learned enthusiast Gorukhnath gave popularity, especially in the Punjab, to the doctrine of the "Yog," which belonged more properly as a theory or practice to the Boodhist faith, but which was equally adopted as a philosophic dogma by the followers of Vyasa and of Shakya. It was, however, held, that in this "Kulyoog," or Iron Age, fallen man was unequal to so great a penance, or to the attainment of complete beatitude ; but Gorukh taught that intense mental abstraction would etherialise the body of the most lowly, and gradually unite his spirit with the all-pervading soul of the world. He chose Siva as the deity who would thus bless the austere perseverance of his votaries of whatever caste ; and, not content with the ordinary frontal marks of sects and persuasions, he distinguished his disciples by boring their ears, whence they are familiarly known as the "Kanphutta," or ear-torn Joghees. *

Muheswur was the seat of Suhesr B'how, or of the hundred-handed Khutree king, who was slain by Purs Ram, of the not very far distant town of Nimawur opposite Hindia ; a probable occurrence, which was soon made the type, or the cause, of the destruction of the ancient warrior race by the Brahmins.

* Compare Wilson (*As. Res.*, xvii. 183. &c.) and the *Dabistan* (*Troyer's Translation*, i. 123. &c.). In the latter, Mohsun Fanee shows some points of conformity between the Joghees and the Mahommetans. With regard to Yog, in a scientific point of view, it may be observed that it corresponds with the state of abstraction or self-consciousness which raised the soul above mortality or chance, and enabled it to apprehend the "true," and to grasp Plato's "idea," or archical form of the world, and that neither Indians nor Greeks considered man capable, in his present imperfect condition, of attaining to

A step was thus made, and faith and abandonment of the pleasures of life were held to abrogate the distinctions of race which had taken so firm a hold on the pride and vanity of the rich and powerful. In the next generation, or about the year 1450, the mysterious weaver Kubeer, a disciple of Ramanund, assailed at once the worship of idols, the authority of the Koran and Shasters, and the exclusive use of a learned language. He addressed Mahometans as well as Hindoos, he urged them to call upon him, the invisible Kubeer, and to strive continually after inward purity. He personified creation or the world as "Maya," or as woman, prolific of deceit and illusion, and thus denounced man's weakness or his proneness to evil. Practically, Kubeer admitted outward conformity, and leant towards Rama or Vishnoo as the most perfect type of God. Like his predecessors he erringly gave shape and attributes to the divinity, and he further limited the application of his doctrines of reform, by declaring retirement from the world to be desirable, and the "Sadh," or pure or perfect man, the passive or inoffensive votary, to be the living resemblance of the Almighty. The views, however, of Kubeer are not very distinctly laid down or

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such a degree of "union with God," or "knowledge of the true." (Compare Ritter, *Ancient Philosophy Morrison's Translation*, ii. 207, 334—336, and Wilson, *As. Res.*, xvii. 185) Were it necessary to pursue the correspondence further, it would be found that Plato's whole system is almost identical, in its rudimental characteristics, with the schemes of Koopel and Puttunjul jointly : thus, God and matter are both eternal ; Muhut, or intelligence, or the informing spirit of the world, is the same with *nous* or *logos*, and so on.

clearly understood; but the latitude of usage which he sanctioned, and his employment of a spoken dialect, have rendered his writings extensively popular among the lower orders of India.*

In the beginning of the sixteenth century the reforms of Ramanund were introduced into Bengal by Cheitun, a Brahmin of Nuddeea. He converted some Mahometans, and admitted all classes as members of his sect. He insisted upon "Bhuktee," or faith, as chastening the most impure; he allowed marriage and secular occupations; but his followers abused the usual injunc-

* Compare the *Dabistan*, ii. 184. &c., Wilson, *As. Res.*, xvi. 53, and *Ward's Hindoos*, iii. 406. Kubeer is an Arabic word, meaning the greatest, and Professor Wilson doubts whether any such person ever existed, and consides the Kubeer of Mohsun Fanee to be the personification of an idea, or that the title was assumed by a Hindoo freethinker as a disguise. The name, however, although significant, is now at least not uncommon, and perhaps the ordinary story that Kubeer was a foundling, reared by a weaver, and subsequently admitted as a disciple by Ramanund, is sufficiently probable to justify his identity. His body is stated to have been claimed both by the Hindoos and Mahometans, and Mohsun Fanee observes that many Mahometans became Byraghees, *i. e.* ascetics of the modern Vaishnuvee sect, of which the followers of Ramanund and Kubeer form the principal subdivisions. (*Dabistan*, ii. 193.) As a further instance of the fusion of feeling then, and now going forward, the reply of the Hindoo deist, Akamnath, to the keepers of the Kaaba at Mecca, may be quoted. He first scandalised them by asking where was the master of the house; and he then inquired why the idols had been thrown out. He was told that the works of men were not to be worshipped; whereupon he inquired whether the temple itself was not reared with hands, and therefore undeserving of respect, (*Dabistan*, ii. 117.)

tion of reverence for the teacher, and some of them held that the Gooroo was to be invoked before God.* About the same period Vullubh Swamee, a Brahmin of Telingana, gave a further impulse to the reformation in progress, and he taught that married teachers were not only admissible as directors of the conscience, but that the householder was to be preferred, and that the world was to be enjoyed by both master and disciple. This principle was readily adopted by the peaceful mercantile classes, and "Gosayens," as the conductors of family worship, have acquired a commanding influence over the iudustrious Quietists of the country ; but they have at the same time added to the diversity of the prevailing idolatry by giving preeminence to Bala Gopal, the *infant* Krishna, as the very God of the Universe.†

Thus, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Hindoo mind was no longer stagnant or retrogressive; it had been leavened with Mahometanism, and changed and quickened for a new development. Ramanund and Gorukh had preached religious equality, and Cheitun had repeated that faith-levelled caste. Kubeer had denounced images, and appealed to the people in their own tongue, and Vullubh had taught that effectual devotion was compatible with the ordinary duties of the

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* For an account of Cheitun and his followers, compare Wilson, *Asiatic Researches*, xvi. 109 &c., and *Ward on the Hindoos*, iii. 467 &c. ; and for some apposite remarks on Bhuktee or faith, see Wilson, *As. Res*, xvii. 312.

† See Wilson, *Asiatic Researches*, xvi. 85 &c. ; and for an account of the corresponding Vaishnuvee sect of Madhuv, which has, however, a leaning to Saivism, see also Wilson, *As. Res.*, xvi. 100.

world. But these good and able men appear to have been so impressed with nothingness of this life, that they deemed the amelioration of man's social condition as unworthy of a thought. They aimed chiefly at emancipation from priestcraft, or from the grossness of idolatry and polytheism. They formed pious associations of contented Quietists, or they gave themselves up to the contemplation of futurity in the hope of approaching bliss, rather than called upon their fellow creatures to throw aside every social as well as religious trammel, and to arise a new people freed from the debasing corruption of ages. They perfected forms of dissent rather than planted the germs of nations, and their *sects* remain to this day as they left them. It was reserved for *Nanuk* to perceive the true principles of reform, and to lay those broad foundations which enabled his successor *Govind* to fire the minds of his countrymen with a new nationality, and to give practical effect to the doctrine that the lowest is equal with the highest, in race as in creed, in political rights as in religious hopes.

Nanuk was born in the year 1469, in the neighbourhood of Lahore.* His father, Kaloo, was a Hindoo of

* Nanuk is generally said to have been born in Tulwundee, a village on the Ravee above Lahore, which was held by one Raee Bhooa, of the Bhuttee tribe. (Compare Malcolm, *Sketch of the Sikhs*, p. 78, and Forster, *Travels*, i. 292-3) But one manuscript account states that, although the father of Nanuk was of Tulwandee, the teacher himself was born in Kanakatch, about fifteen miles southerly from Lahore, in the house of his mother's parents. It is indeed not uncommon in the Punjab for women to choose their own parents' home as the place of their

the Behdee subdivision of the once warlike Khutrees, and he was, perhaps, like most of his race, a petty trader in his native village. * Nanuk appears to have been naturally of a pious disposition and of a reflecting mind, an there is reason to believe that in his youth he made himself familiar with the popular creeds both of the Mahometans and Hindoos, and that the gained a general knowledge of the Koran and of the Brahminical Shasters. † His good sense and fervid temper left him displeased with the corruptions of the vulgar faith, and

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confinement, especially of their first child, and the children thus born are frequently called Nanuk (or Nanukee, in the feminine), from *Nankeh*, one's mother's parents. Nanuk is thus a name of usual occurrence, both among Hindoos and Mahometans, of the poor or industrious classes. The accounts agree as to the *year* of Nanuk's birth, but differ, while they affect precision, with regard to the *day of the month* on which he was born. Thus one narrative gives the 13th, and another the 18th, of the month Kartic, of the year 1526 of Vikrumajeet, which corresponds with the latter end of 1469 of Christ.

* In the Seir ool Mutakhereen (*Briggs' Translation*, i, 110.) it is stated that Nanuk's father was a grain merchant, and in the Dabistan (ii. 247.) that Nanuk himself was a grain factor. The Sikh accounts are mostly silent about the occupation of the father, but they represent the sister of Nanuk to have been married to a corn factor, and state that he was himself placed with his brother-in-law to learn, or to give aid, in carrying on the business.

† A manuscript compilation in Persian mentions that Nanuk's first teacher was a Mahometan. The Seir ool Mutakhereen (i. 110) states that Nanuk was carefully educated by one Syed Hussun, a neighbour of his father's, who conceived a regard for him, and who was wealthy but childless. Nanuk is further said, in the same book, to have studied the most

dissatisfied with the indifference of the learned, or with the refuge which they sought in the specious abstractions of philosophy; nor is it improbable that the homilies of Kubeer and Gorukh had fallen upon his susceptible mind with a powerful and enduring effect.* In a moment of enthusiasm the ardent inquirer abandoned his home, and strove to attain wisdom by penitent meditation, by study, and by an enlarged intercourse with mankind.† He travelled, perhaps, beyond the limits of India, he prayed in solitude, he reflected on the Veds and on the mission of Mahomet, and he questioned with equal anxiety the learned priest and the simple devotee about the will of God and the path to

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approved writings of the Mahometans. According to Malcolm (*Sketch*, p. 14), Nanuk is reported, by the Mahometans, to have learnt all earthly sciences from Khizzer, *i. e.* the prophet Elias. The ordinary Mahometan accounts also represent Nanuk, when a child, to have astonished his teacher, by asking him the hidden import of the first letter of the alphabet, which is almost a straigt stroke in Persian and Arabic, and which is held even vulgarly to denote the unity of God. The reader will remember that the apocryphal Gospels state how Christ, before he was twelve years old, perplexed his instructors, and explained to them the mystical significance of the alphabetical characters. (Strauss, *Life of Jesus*, i. 272)

* Extracts or selections from the writings of Kubeer, appear in the Adee Grunt'h, and Kubeer is often, and Gorukh sometimes, quoted or referred to.

† A chance meeting with some Fukeers (Malcolm, *Sketch*, p. 8. 13.) and the more methodical instructions of a Dervish (*Dabistan*, ii. 247), are each referred to as having subdued the mind of Nanuk, or as having given him the impulse which determined the future course of his life. In Malcolm may be seen those stories which please the multitude, to the effect that although Nanuk, when the spirit of God was upon him,

happiness.* Plato and Bacon, Des Cartes and Alghazali, examined the current philosophic systems of the world, without finding a sure basis of truth for the operations of the intellect ; and, similarly, the heart of

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bestowed all the grain in his brother-in-law's stores in charity, they were nevertheless always found replenished ; or that Dowlut Khan Lodee, the employer of Nanuk's brother-in-law, although aware that much had really been given away, nevertheless found everything correct on balancing the accounts of receipts and expenditure.

The Sikh accounts represent Nanuk to have met the Emperor Baber, and to have greatly edified the adventurous sovereign by his demeanour and conversation, while he perplexed him by saying that both were kings, and were about to found dynasties of ten. I have traced but two allusions to Baber by name, and one by obvious inference, in the Adee Grunt'h, viz. in the Assa Rag and Teilung portions, and these bear reference simply to the destruction of a village, and to his incursions as a conqueror. Mohsun Fanee (*Dabistan*, ii. 249.) preserves an idle report that Nanuk, being dissatisfied with the Afghans, called the Moghuls into India.

* Nanuk is generally said to have travelled over the whole of India, to have gone through Persia, and to have visited Mecca (compare Malcolm, *Sketch*, p. 16. and Forster, *Travels*, i. 295-6) ; but the number of years he employed in wandering, and the date of his final return to his native province, are alike uncertain. He had several companions, among whom Merdana, the rubabee or harper (or rather a chaunter, and player upon a stringed instrument like a guitar), Lehna, who was his successor, Bala, a Sindhoo Jut, and Ram Das, styled Boodha or the Ancient, are the most frequently referred to. In pictorial representations Merdana always accompanies Nanuk. When at Mecca, a story is related that Nanuk was sleeping with his feet towards the temple, that he was angrily asked how he dared to dishonour the house of the Lord, and that he replied, could he turn his

the pious Nanuk sought hopelessly for a resting-place aimed the conflicting creeds and practices of men. All was error, he said ; he had read Korans and Poorans, but God he had nowhere found.* He returned to his native land, he threw aside the habit of an ascetic, he became again the father of his family, and he passed the remainder of his long life in calling upon men to worship the One Invisible God, to live virtuously, and to be tolerant of the failings of others. The mild demeanor, the earnest piety and persuasive eloquence of Nanuk, are ever the themes of praise, and he died at the age of seventy, leaving behind him many zealous and admiring disciples. †

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feet where the house of God was not? (Malcolm, *Sketch of the Sikhs*, p. 159) Nanuk adopted, some times at least, the garb of a Mahometan Dervish, and at Mooltan he visited an assembly of Mussulman devotees, saying he was but as the stream of the Ganges entering the ocean of holiness. (Compare Malcolm, *Sketch*, p. 21. and the *Seir ool Mutakhereen*, i. 311.)

* There is current a verse imputed to Nanuk, to the effect that—

> "Several scriptures and books had he read,
> But one (God) he had not found :
> Several Korans and Poorans had he read,
> But faith he could not put in any."

The Adee Grunt'h abounds with passages of a similar tenor, and in the supplemental portion, called the Ruttun Mala, Nanuk says, "Man may read Veds and Korans, and reach to a temporary bliss, but without God salvation is unattainable."

† The accounts mostly agree as to the date of Nanuk's death, and they place it in 1596 of Vekrumajeet, or 1639 of Christ. A Goormookhee abstract states precisely, that he was a teacher for seven years, five months, and seven days, and that he died on the 10th of the Hindoo month Asowj. Forster (*Travels*, i. 295)

Nanuk combined the excellencies of preceding reformers, and he avoided the more grave errors into which they had fallen. Instead of the circumscribed divinity, the anthropomorphous God of Ramanund and Kubeer, he loftily invokes the Lord as the one, the sole, the timeless being; the creator, the self-existent, the incomprehensible, and the everlasting. He likens the Deity to Truth, which was before the world began, which is, and which shall endure for ever, as the ultimate idea or cause of all we know or behold. * He

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represents that he travelled for fifteen years. Nanuk died at Kurtarpoor, on the Ravee, about forty miles above Lahore, where there is a place of worship sacred to him. He left two sons, Sreechund, an ascetic, whose name lives as the founder of the Hindoo sect of Oodassees, and Lutchmee Dass, who devoted himself to pleasure, and of whom nothing particular is known. The Nanukpotras, or descendants of Nanuk, called also Sahibzadas, or sons of the master, are every where reverenced among Sikhs, and if traders, some privileges are conceded to them by the chiefs of their country. Mohsun Fanee observes (*Dabistan*, ii. 253), that the representatives of Nanuk were known as Kurtarees, meaning, perhaps, rather that they were held to be holy or devoted to the service of God, than that they were simply residents of Kurtarpoor.

* See the *Adee Grunt'h*, in, for instance, the portion called *Gowree Rag*, and the prefatory *Jup*, or prayer of admonition and remembrance, Compare also Wilkins, *Asiatic Researches*, i. 289, &c.

"Akalpoorik," or the Timeless Being, is the ordinary Sikh appellation of God, corresponding idiomatically which the "Almighty," in English. Yet Govind, in the Second Grunt'h (Huzara Shubd portion), apostrophises Time itself as the only true God, for God was the first and the last, the being without end, &c.

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addresses equally the Moola and the Pundit, the Dervish and the Soonyassee, and tells them to remember *that* Lord of Lords who had seen come and go numberless Mahomets, and Vishnoos, and Shivas. * He tells them that virtues and charities, heroic acts and gathered wisdom, are nought of themselves, that the only knowledge which availeth is the knowledge of God ;† and then, as if to rebuke those vain men who saw eternal life in their own act of faith, he declares that they only can find the Lord on whom the Lord looks with favour. ‡ Yet the extension of grace is linked with the

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Milton assigns to time a casual or limited use only, and Shakespeare makes it finite:—

" For time, though in eternity applied
To motion, measures all things durable
By present, past, and future."
Paradise Lost, v.

" But thought's the slave of life, and life, time's fool ;
And time, that takes survey of all the world,
Must have a stop."
Henry IV. Part First, v. 4.

Three of the modern philosophing schools of India, viz. a division of the Sankhyas, the Pauranicks, and the Saivas, make Kal, or time, one of the twenty-seven, or thirty, or thirty-six component essences or phenomena of the universe of matter and mind, and thus give it distinct functions, or a separate existence.

* A passage of Nanuk's in the supplement to the Adee Grunt'h after saying that there have been multitudes of prophets, teachers, and holy men, concludes thus :—

" The Lord of Lords is One God, the Almighty God himself ;
Oh Nanuk ! his qualities are beyond comprehension."

† See the *Adee Grunt'h* towards the end of the portion called *Assa,*

‡ See the *Adee Grunt'h*, towards the end of the *Assa Rag*, and in the supplementary portion called the *Ruttun Mala.*

exercise of our will and the beneficent use of our faculties. God, said Nanuk, places salvation in good works and uprightness of conduct: the Lord will ask of man, "What has he done:" *—and the teacher further required timely repentance of men, saying, "If not until the day of reckoning the sinner abaseth himself, punishment shall overtake him." †

Nanuk adopted the philosophical system of his countrymen, and regarded bliss as the dwelling of the soul with God after its punitory transmigrations should have ceased. Life, he says, is as the shadow of the passing bird but the soul of man is, as the potter's wheel, ever circling on its pivot. ‡ He makes the same uses of the current language or notions of the time on other subjects, and thus says, he who remains bright amid darkness (Unjun), unmoved amid deceit (Maya), that is perfect amid temptation, should attain happiness. § But it would be idle to suppose that he speculated upon being, or upon the material world, after the manner of Plato or Vyasa ; || and it would be unreasonable to

* The *Adee Grunt'h Purbhatee Raginee.* Compare Malcolm (*Sketch*, p. 161) and Wilkins (*As. Res.*, i. 289. &c.)

† See the *Nusseeut Nameh*, or admonition of Nanuk to Karon, a fabulous monarch, which, however, is not admitted into the Grunt'h, perhaps because its personal or particular application is not in keeping with the abstract and general nature of that book. Neither, indeed, is it certainly known to be Nanuk's composition, although it embodies many of his notions.

‡ *Adee Grunt'h*, end of the *Assa Rag.*

§ *Adee Grunt'h*, in the *Sohee* and *Ramkullee* portions.

|| Professor Wilson (*As. Res.*, xvii. 233, and continuation of *Mill's History of India*, vii. 101, 102), would appear to think slightingly of the doctrines of Nanuk, as being more metaphysical

condemn him because he preferred the doctrine of a succession of habiliments, and the possible purification of the most sinful soul, to the resurrection of the same

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notions founded on the abstractions of Soafceism and the Vedant philosophy; but it is difficult for any one to write about the Omnipotence of God and the hopes of man, without lying himself open to a charge of belonging to one speculative school or another. Milton, the poet and statesman, indeed, may have had a particular leaning, when he thought of "body working up to spirit" (*Paradise Lost*, v.); but is St. Paul, the reformer and enthusiast, to be contemned, or is he to be misunderstood when he says, "It is sown a natural body and is raised a spiritual body?" (1 Corinthians, xv. 44) Similarly such expressions as "Doth not the Lord fill heaven and earth" (Jeremiah, xxiii. 24), "God, in whom we live and move and have our being" (Acts, xvii. 28); and "Of him, and to him, and through him are all things" (Romans, xi. 36), might be used to declare the Prophet and the Apostle to the Pantheists or Materialists; but it nevertheless seems plain that Jeremiah and Paul, and likewise Nanuk, had another object in view than scholastic dogmatism, and that they simply desired to impress mankind with exalted notions of the greatness and goodness of God, by a vague employment of general language which they knew would never mislead the multitude.

Professor Wilson (*As. Res.*, xvii. 233. 237, 238) and Mohsun Fanee (*Dabistan*, ii. 269, 270, 285, 286) may be compared together, and the Seir ool Mutakhereen (i. 110) may be compared with both, with reference to the contradictory views taken of the similarity or difference respectively between Sikhism and Brahminism. Each is right, the one with regard to the imperfect faith or the corrupt practices, especially of the Sikhs in the Gangetic provinces, and the other with regard to the admitted doctrines of Nanuk, as they will always be explained by any qualified person.

It is to be remembered that the Sikhs regard the mission of Nanuk and Govind as the consummation of other dispensations

body, and the pains of everlasting fire. * Nanuk also referred to the Arabian prophet, and to the Hindoo incarnations, not as impostors and the diffusers of evil, but as having truly been sent by God to instruct mankind, and he lamented that sin should nevertheless prevail. He asserted no special divinity, although he may possibly have considered himself, as he came to be considered by others, the successor of these inspired teachers of his belief, sent to reclaim fallen mortals of

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including that of Mahomet; and their talk, therefore, of Brumha and Vishnoo, and various heavenly powers, is no more unreasonable than the deference of Christians to Moses and Abraham, and to the archangels Michael and Gabriel. Such allusions are perhaps, indeed, more excusable in the Sikhs, than "the singular polytheism" of our mediæval divines, which they "grafted on the language rather (indeed) than the principle of Christianity."—Hallam, *Middle Ages*, iii. 346.

For an instance of the moral application which Nanuk was wont to give to mythological stories, see *Ward on the Hindoos* (iii. 465). Nanuk, indeed, refers continually to Hindoo notions, but he was not therefore an idolator, and it should further be borne in mind that, as St. John could draw illustrations from Greek philosophy, so could St. Paul make an advantageous use of the Greek poets, as was long ago observed upon in a right spirit by Milton (Speech for the Liberty of unlicensed Printing) In the early ages of Christianity, moreover, the sibylline leaves were referred to as foretelling the mission of Jessus; but although the spuriousness of the passages is now admitted, the Fathers are not accused of polytheism, or of holding Amalthea, the nurse of Jupiter, to be a real type of the Virgin Mary!

* The usual objection of the Mahometans to the Hindoo doctrine of transmigration, is, that the wicked soul of this present world has no remembrance of its past condition and bygone punishments, and does not, therefore, bring with it any

all creeds and countries within the limits of his knowledge. He rendered his mission applicable to all times and places, yet he declared himself to be but the slave, the humble messenger of the Almighty, making use of universal truth as his sole instrument. * He did not claim for his writings, replete as they were with wisdom and devotion, † the merit of a direct transcription of the words of God ; nor did he say that his own preaching

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inherent incentive to holiness. The Mahometans, however, do not show that a knowledge of the sin of Adam, and *consequent* corruption of his posterity, is instinctive to a follower of Christ or to a disciple of their own Prophet ; and, metaphysically, an impartial thinker will peahaps prefer the Brahmin doctrine of a soul finally separated from the changeable matter of our senses, to the Egyptian scheme of the resurrection of the corruptible body,—a notion which seems to have impressed itself on the Israelites notwithstanding the silence of Moses, and which resisted for centuries the action of other systems, and which was at length revived with increased force in connection with the popular belief in miracles. See also note, p. 33-34.

† The whole scope of Nanuk's teaching is that God is all in all, and that purity of mind is the first of objects. He urges all men to practise devotion, and he refers to past Prophets and Dispensations as being now of no avail, but he nowhere attributes to himself any superiority over others. He was a man among men, calling upon his fellow creatures to live a holy life. (Compare the *Dabistan*, ii. 249, 250, 253 ; and see Wilson, *As. Res*, xvii. 234, for the expression "Nanuk thy slave is a free-will offering unto thee.")

* The Mahometan writers are loud in their praises of Nanuk's writings. (Compare the *Seir ool Mutakhereen*, i. 110, 111, and the *Dabistan*, ii. 251, 252)

With these sober views of the Orientals may be contrasted the opinion of the European Baron Hugel, who says (*Travels*, p. 283), that the Grunt'h is "a compound of mystical absurdities."

required or would be sanctioned by miracles.* "Fight with no weapon," said he, "save the word of God; a holy teacher hath no means save the purity of his doctrine."† He taught that asceticism or abandonment of the world was unncessary to the pious hermit and the devout householder being equal in the eyes of the Almighty; but he did not, like his contemporary Vullubh, express any invidious preference for married teachers, although his own example showed that he considered every one should fulfil the functions of his nature.‡ In treating the two prominent external observances of Hindoos and Mahometans, veneration for the cow and abhorrencce of the hog, he was equally wise and conciliatory yielding perhaps something to the prejudices of his education as well as to the gentleness of his disposition. "The rights of strangers," said he, "are the one the ox, and the other the swine, but 'Peers' and 'Gooroos' will praise those who partake not of that which hath enjoyed life." §

He admits, however, that the Sikhs worship one God, abhor images, and reject caste, at least in theory.

* See particularly the *Sirree Rag* chapter of the *Adee Grunt'h.* In the Majh Var portion, Nanuk says to a pretender to miracles, "Dwell thou in flame uninjured, remain unharmed amid eternal ice, make blocks of stone thy food, spurn the solid earth before thee with thy foot, weigh the heavens in a balance, and then ask thou that Nanuk perform wonders!"

Strauss (*Life of Jesus*, ii. 237) points out that Christ censured the seeking for miracles, (John, iv. 48) and observes that the Apostles do in their letters not mention miracles at all.

† Malcolm, *Sketch*, pp. 20, 21, 165.

‡ *Adee Grunt h*, particularly the *Assa Raginee* and *Ramkullee Raginee.* (Compare the *Dabistan*, ii. 271)

§ *Adee Grunt'h*, *Majh* chapter. Compare Malcolm (Sketch,

Thus Nanuk extricated his followers from the accumulated errors of ages, and enjoined upon them devotion of thought and excellence of conduct as the first of duties. He left them, erect and free, unbiassed in mind and unfettered by rules, to become an increasing body of truthful worshippers. His reform was in its immediate effect religious and moral only; believers were regarded as "Sikhs" or disciples, not as subjects; and it is neither probable, nor is it necessary to suppose, that he possessed any clear and sagacious views of social amelioration or of political advancement. He left the progress of his people to the operation of time;

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p. 36, (note, and p. 137) where it is said, Nanuk prohibited swine's flesh, but indeed, the flesh of the *tame* hog had always been forbidden to Hindoos. (*Munnoo's Institutes*, v. 19) The *Dabistan* (ii. 248.) states that Nanuk prohibited wine and pork, and himself abstained from all flesh: but, in truth, contradictory passages about food may be quoted, and thus Ward (*On the Hindoos*, iii. 466.) shows that Nanuk defended those who eat flesh, and declared that the infant which drew nurture from its mother lived virtually upon flesh. The author of the *Goor Rutnaolee* pursues the idea, in a trivial manner indeed, by asking whether man does not take woman to wife, and whether the holiest of books are not bound with the skins of animals!

The general injunctions of Nanuk have sometimes been ministerpreted by sectarian followers and learned strangers, to mean "great chariness of animal life," almost in a mere ceremonial sense. (Wilson, *As. Res.*, xvii. 233) But the Sikhs have no such feeling, although the Jeins and others carry a pious regard for worms and flies to a ludicrous extent—a practise which has reacted upon at least some families of Roman Catholic Chirstians in India. Those in Bhopal reject, during Lent, the use of unrefined sugar, an article of daily consumption, because, in its manufacture, the lives of many insects are necessarily sacrificed!

for his congregation was too limited and the state of society too artificial, to render it either requisite or possible for him to become a municipal law-giver, to subvert the legislation of Munnoo, or to change the immemorial usages of tribes or races.* His care was rather to prevent his followers contracting into a sect, and his comprehensive principles narrowing into monastic distinctions. This he effected by excluding his son, a meditative and perhaps bigoted ascetic, from the ministry when he should himself be no more; and, as

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* Malcolm (*Sketch*, pp. 44, 147) says Nanuk made little or no alteration in the civil institutions of the Hindoos, and Ward (*Hindoos*, iii. 463) says, the Sikhs have no written civil or criminal laws. Similar observations of dispraise or applause might be made with regard to the code of the early Christians and we know the difficulties under which the Apostles labored, owing to the want of a new declaratory law, or owing to the scruples and prejudices of their disciples. (Acts, xv. 20, 28, 29, and other passages) The seventh of the articles of the Church of England, and the nineteenth chapter of the Scottish Confession of Faith, show the existing perplexity of modern divines, and doubtless, it will long continue to be disputed how far Christians are amenable to some portions of the Jewish law, and whether Sikhs should wholly reject the institutions of Munnoo and the usages of race There were Judaizing Christians and there are Brahminizing Sikhs; the swine was a difficulty with one, the cow is a difficulty with the other; and yet the greatest obstacles, perhaps, to a complete obliteration of caste, is the rooted feeling that marriage should properly take place only between people of the same origin or nation, without much reference to faith. (Compare *Ward on the Hindoos*, iii. 459; Malcolm, *Sketch*, p. 157 note; and *Forster's Travels*, i. 293, 295, 308)

his end approached, he is stated to have made a trial of the obedience or merits of his chosen disciples, and to have preferred the simple and sincere Lehna. As they journeyed along, the body of a man was seen lying by the way side. Nanuk said, "Ye who trust in me, eat of this food." All hesitated save Lehna; he knelt and uncovered the dead, and touched without tasting the flesh of man; but, behold! the corpse had disappeared and Nanuk was in its place. The Gooroo embraced his faithful follower, saying he was as himself, and that his spirit would dwell within him. * The name of Lehna was changed to Ung-i-Khood, or Ung-gud, or own body, † and whatever may be the foundation of the story or the truth of the etymology, it is certain that the Sikhs fully believe the spirit of Nanuk to have been incarnate in each succeeding Gooroo. ‡ Unggud was acknowledged as the teacher of the Sikhs, and Sree Chund, the son of Nanuk, justified his father's fears, and became the founder of the

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* This story is related by various Punjabee compilers, and it is given with one of the variations by Dr. Macgregor, in his *History of the Sikhs* (i. 48.). In the *Dabistan* (ii. 268, 269) there is a story of a similar kind about the successive sacrifice in the four ages of a cow, a horse, an elephant, and a man. The pious partakers of the flesh of the last offering were declared to be saved, and the victim himself again appeared in his bodily shape.

† Compare Malcolm, *Sketch of the Sikhs*, p. 24, note.

‡ This belief is an article of faith with the Sikhs. Compare the *Dabistan* (ii. 253, 281). The Gooroo Hur Govind signed himself "Nanuk" in a letter to Mohsun Fanee, the author of that work.

Hindoo sect of "Oodassees," a community indifferent to the concerns of this world.*

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* For some account of the Oodasseens, see Wilson, *Asiatic Researches*, xvii. 232. The sect is widely dffused ; its members are proud of their connection with the Sikhs, and all reverence, and most possess and use, the Grunt'h of Nanuk.

Note. For many stories regarding Nanuk himself, which it has not been thought necessary to introduce into the text or notes, the curious reader may refer with profit to *Malcolm's Sketch*, to the second volume of the *Dabistan*, and to the first volume of Dr. Macgregor's recently published *History*.

CHAPTER III.

THE SIKH GOOROOS OR TEACHERS, AND THE MODIFICATION OF SIKHISM UNDER GOVIND.

1529—1716.

Gooroo Unggud.—Gooroo Ummer Dass and the Oodassee Sect.—Gooroo Ram Das.—Gooroo Arjoon.—The First Grunt'h and Civil Organization of the Sikhs.—Gooroo Hur Govind and the military ordering of the Sikhs.—Gooroo Hur Govind Raee.—Gooroo Hurkishen.—Gooroo Tegh Buhadur.—Gooroo Govind, and the Political Establishment of the Sikhs.—Bunda Byraghee the temporal successor of Govind.—The Dispersion of the Sikh.

NANUK died in 1539, and he was succeeded by the Unggud of his choice, a Khutree of the Teehun subdivision of the race, who himself died in 1552, at Kuddoor, near Goindwal, on the Beeas river. Little is related of his ministry, except that he committed to writing much of what he had heard about Nanuk from the Gooroo's ancient companion Bala Sindhoo, as well as some devotional observations of his own, which were afterwards incorporated in the "Grunt'h." But Unggud was true to the principles of his great teacher and, not deeming either of his own sons worthy to

succeed him, he bestowed his apostolic blessing upon Ummer Das, an assiduous follower.*

Ummer Das was likewise a Khutree, but of the Bhulleh subdivision. He was active in preaching and successful in obtaining converts, and it is said that he found an attentive listener in the tolerant Akber. The immediate followers of Sree Chund, the son of Nanuk, had hitherto been regarded as almost equally the disciples of the first teacher with the direct adherents of Unggud; but Ummer Das declared passive and recluse "Oodassees" to be wholly separate from active and domestic "Sikhs," and thus finally preserved the infant church or state from disappearing as one of many sects.† In the spirit of Nanuk he likewise pronounced that the "true Suttee was she whom grief and not flame consumed, and that the afflicted should seek consolation with the Lord;" thus mildly discountenancing a perverse custom, and leading the way to amendment by persuasion rather than by positive enactment.‡

* Unggud was born, according to most accounts, in 1561 Submut, or 1504 A. D., but according to others in 1567 or (1510 A. D.) His death is usually placed in 1609 Submat (1552 A. D.), but sometimes it is dated a year earlier, and the Sikh accounts affect a precision as to days and months which can never gain credence. Forster (*Travels*, i. 296) gives 1542, perhaps a mispirint for 1552, as the period of his death.

† Malcolm (*Sketch*, p. 27) says distinctly that Ummer Das made this separation. The *Dabistan* (ii. 571) states generally that the Gooroos had effected it, and in the present day some educated Sikhs think that Arjoon first authoritatively laid down the difference between an Oodassee and a genuine follower of Nanuk.

‡ The *Adee Grunt'h*, in that part of the *Soohee* chapter which

Ummer Das died in 1574, after a ministration of about twenty-two years and a half.* He had a son and a daughter, and it is said that his delight with the uniform filial love and obedience of the latter, led him to prefer her husband before other disciples, and to bestow upon him his "Burkut" or apostolic virtue. The fond mother, or ambitious woman, is further stated to have obtained an assurance from the Gooroo that the succession should remain with her posterity.

Ram Das, the son-in-law of Ummer Das, was a Khutree of the Sodhee subdivision, and he was worthy of his master's choice and of his wife's affection. He is said to have been held in esteem by Akber, and to have received from him a piece of land, within the limits of which he dug a reservoir, since well-known as Amritsir, or the pool of immortality; but the temples and surrounding huts were at first named Ramdaspoor, from the founder.† Ram Das is among the most revered of

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is by Ummer Das. Forster (*Travels*, i. 309) considers that Nanuk prohibited Suttee, and allowed widows to marry; but Nanuk did not make positive laws of the kind, and perhaps self-sacrifice was not authoritatively interfered with, until first Akber and Jehangheer (*Memoirs of Jehangheer*, p. 28) and afterwards the English, endeavoured to put an end to it.

* The accounts agree as to the date of Ummer Das's birth, placing it in 1566 Sumbut, or 1509 A. D. The period of his death, 1631 Sumbut, or 1574 A. D. seems likewise certain, although one places it as late as 1580 A. D.

† Malcolm, *Sketch*, p. 29; Forster, *Travels*, i. 297; the *Dabistan*, ii. 275. The Sikh accounts state that the possession of Akber's gift was disputed by a Byraghee, who claimed the land as the site of an ancient pool dedicated to Ramchunder, the tutelary deity of his order; but the Sikh Gooroo said haughtily

the Gooroos, but no precepts of wide application, or rules of great practical value or force, are attributed to him. His own ministry did not extend beyond seven years, and the slow progress of the faith of Nanuk seems apparent from the statement that at the end of forty-two years his successor had not more than double that number of disciples or instructed followers.*

Arjoon succeeded his father in 1581, and the wishes of his mother, the daughter of Ummer Das, were thus accomplished.† Arjoon was perhaps the first who clearly understood the wide import of the teachings of Nanuk, or who perceived how applicable they were to every state of life and to every condition of society.

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he was himself the truer representative of the hero. The Byraghee could produce no proof; but Ram Das dug deep into the earth, and displayed to numerous admirers the ancient steps of the demi-god's reservoir!

* Such seems to be the meaning of the expression, "He held holy converse with eighty-four Sikhs," used by Bhaee Kanh Singh in a manuscript compilation of the beginning of this century.

Ram Das's birth is placed in 1581 Sumbut, or 1524 A. D., his marrige in 1542 A. D.; the founding of Amritsir in 1577 A. D., and his death in 1581 A. D.

† It seems doubtful whether Ram Das had two or three sons, Pirt'hee Chund (for Bhurrut Mull or Dheermull), Arjoon, and Muhadeo, and also whether Arjoon was older or younger than Pirt'hee Chund. It is more certain, however, that Pirt'hee Chund claimed the succession on the death of his brother, if not on the death of his father, and he was also indeed accused of endeavouring to poison Arjoon. (Compare Malcolm, *Sketch*, p. 30, and the *Dabistan*, ii. 273) The descendants of Pirt'hee Chund are still to be found in the neighbourhood of the Sutlej, especially at Kot Hur Suhaee, south of Feerozpoor.

He made Amritsir the proper seat of his followers, the centre which should attract their worldly longings for a material bond of union; and the obscure hamlet, with its little pool, has become a populous city and the great place of pilgrimage of the Sikh, people. * Arjoon next arranged the various writings of his predecessors; † he added to them the best known, or the most suitable compositions of some other religious reformers of the few preceding centuries, and completing the whole with a prayer and some exhortations of his own, he declared the compilation to be pre-eminently the "Grunt'h," or Book; and he gave to his followers their fixed rule of religious and moral conduct, with an assurance that multitudes even of divine Brahmins had wearied themselves with reading the Veds, and had found not the value of an oil-seed within them. ‡ The Gooroo next reduced to a systematic tax the customary offerings of

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* The ordinary Sikh accounts represent Arjoon to have taken up his residence at Amritsir; but he lived for some time at least at Turrun Tarun, which lies between that city and the junction of the Beeas and Sutlej. (Compare the *Dabistan*, ii. 275)

† Malcolm, *Sketch*, p. 30. General tradition and most writers attribute the arrangement of the First Grunt'h to Arjoon; but Unggud is understood to have preserved many observations of Nanuk, and Forster (*Travels*, i. 297) states that Ram Das compiled the histories and precepts of his predecessors, and annexed a commentary to the work. The same author, indeed (*Travels*, i. 296, note), also contradictorily assigns the compilation to Unggud.

‡ *Adee Grunt'h*, in that portion of the *Soohee* chapter written by Arjoon. For some account of the Adee, or First Grunt'h, see Appendix I.

his converts or adherents, who, under his ascendancy, were to be found in every city and province. The Sikhs were bound by social usage, and disposed from reverential feelings, to make such presents to their spiritual guide; but the agents of Arjoon were spread over the country to demand and receive the contributions of the faithful, which they proceeded to deliver to the Gooroo in person at an annual assembly. Thus the Sikhs, says the almost contemporary Mohsun Fanee, become accustomed to a regular government.* Nor was Arjoon heedless of other means of acquiring wealth and influence; he despatched his followers into foreign countries to be as keen in traffic as they were zealous in belief, and it is probable that his transactions as a merchant were extensive, although confined to the purchase of horses in Toorkistan.†

Arjoon became famous among pious devotees, and his biographers dwell on the number of saints and holy men who were edified by his instructions. Nor was he unheeded by those in high station, for he is said to have refused to betroth his son to the daughter of Chundoo Shah, the finance administrator of the Lahore province; ‡ and he further appears to have been sought as a political partizan, and to have offered up prayers

* The *Dabistan*, ii. 270 &c. Compare Malcolm, *Sketch*, p. 30.

† The ordinary Sikh accounts are to this effect. Compare the *Dabistan*, ii. 271.

‡ Compare Forster, *Travels*, i. 298. The Sikh accounts represent that the son of Arjoon was mentioned to Chundoo as a suitable match for his daughter, and that Chundoo slightingly objected, saying, Arjoon, although a man of name and wealth, was still a beggar, or one who received alms.

for Khoosroo, the son of Jehangheer, when in rebellion and in temporary possession of the Punjab. The Gooroo was summoned to the emperor's presence, and fined and imprisoned at the instigation chiefly, it is said, of Chundoo Shah, whose alliance he had rejected, and who represented him as a man of a dangerous ambition.* Arjoon died in 1606, and his death is believed to have been hastened by the rigors of his confinement; but his followers piously assert that,

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This was reported to Arjoon; he resented the taunt, and would not be reconciled to the match, notwithstanding the personal endeavours of Chundoo to appease him and bring about the union.

Shah is a corrupted suffix to names, extensively adopted in India. It is a Persian word signifying a king, but applied to Mahometan Fukeers as Muharaja is used by or towards Hindoo devotees. It is also used to denote a principal merchant or as a corruption of Sahoo or Sahookar, and it is further used as a name or title, as a corruption of Sah or Suhaee. The Gond converts to Mahometanism on the Nerbudda all add the word Shah to their names

‡ *Dabistan*, ii. 272, 273. The Sikh accounts correspond sufficiently as to the fact of the Gooroo s arraignment, while they are silent about his treason. They declare the emperor to have been satisfied of his sanctity and innocence (generally), and attribute his continued imprisonment to Chundoo's malignity and disobedience of orders. (Compare Malcolm, *Sketch*, p. 32.) Mohsun Fanee also states that a Mahometan saint of Thunehsir was banished by Jehangheer for aiding Khoosroo with his prayers. (*Dabistan*, ii. 273.) The emperor himself simply states (*Memoirs*, p. 88), that at Lahore he impaled seven hundred of the rebels, and on his way to that city he appears (*Memoirs* p. 81.) to have bestowed a present on Shekh Nizam of Thunehsir; but he may have subsequently become aware of his hottility.

having obtained leave to bathe in the river Ravee, he vanished in the shallow stream, to the fear and wonder of those guarding him. *

During the ministry of Arjoon the principles of Nanuk took a firm hold on the minds of his followers †, and a disciple named Goor Das, gives a lofty and imaginative view of the mission of that teacher. He regards him as the successor of Vyasa and Mahomet, and as the destined restorer of purity and sanctity; the regenerator of a world afflicted with the increasing wickedness of men, and with the savage contentions of numerous sects. He declaims against the bigotry of the Mahometans and their ready resort to violence; he denounces the asceticism of the Hindoos, and he urges all men to abandon their evil ways, to live peacefully and virtuously, and to call upon the name of the one true God to whom Nanuk had borne witness. Arjoon is commonly said to have refused to give these writings of his stern but fervid disciple a place in the Grunt'h, perhaps as unsuited to the tenor of Nanuk's exhortations, which scarcely condemn or threaten others. The writings of Goor Das are, indeed, rather figurative descriptions of actual affairs, than simple hymns

* Compare Malcolm, *Sketch*, p. 33; the *Dabistan*, ii. 272-3; and Forster, *Travels*, i. 298.

1553 A. D. seems the most probable date of Arjoon's birth, although one account places it as late as 1565 A. D. Similarly 1663 Sumbut, or 1015 Hijree, or 1606 A. D. seems the most certain date of his death.

† Mohsun Fanee observes (*Dabistan*, ii. 270.), that in the time of Arjoon Sikhs were to be found everywhere throughout the country.

in praise of God; but they deserve attention as expounding Nanuk's object of a gradual fusion of Mahometans and Hindoos into common observers of a new and a better creed, and as an almost contemporary instance of the conversion of the noble but obscure idea of an individual into the active principle of a multitude, and of the gradual investiture of a simple fact with the gorgeous mythism of memroy and imagination. The unpretending Nanuk, the deplorer of human frailty and the lover of his fellow men, becomes, in the mind of Goor Das and of the Sikh people, the first of heavenly powers and emanations, and the proclaimed instrument of God for the redemption of the world; and every hope and feeling of the Indian races is appealed to in proof or in illustration of the reality and the splendor of his mission.*

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* The work of Bhaee Goor Das Bhulleh, simply known as such, or as the Gnyan Rutnaolee (Malcolm, *Sketch*, p. 30. note) is much read by the Sikhs. It consists of forty chapters, and is written in different kinds of verse. Some extracts may be seen in Appendix III. and in Malcolm, *Sketch*, p. 152 &c. Goor Das was the scribe of Arjoon, but his pride and haughtiness are said to have displeased his master, and his composition were refused a place in the sacred book. Time and reflection—and the Sikhs add a miracle—made him sensible of his failings and inferiority, and Arjoon perceiving his contrition, said he would include his writings in the Grunt'h. But the final meekness of Goor Das was such, that he himself declared them to be unworthy of such association whereupon Arjoon enjoined that all Sikhs should nevertheless read them. He describes Arjoon (Malcolm, *Sketch*, p. 30 *note*) to have become Gooroo without any formal investiture or consecration by his father, which may further mark the commanding character of that teacher.

On the death of Arjoon, his brother Pirthee Chund made some attempts to be recognized as Gooroo, for the only son of the deceased teacher was young, and ecclesiastical usage has everywhere admitted a latitude of succession. But some suspicion of teachery towards Arjoon appears to have attached to him, and his nephew soon became the acknowledged leader of the Sikhs, although Pirthee Chund himself continued to retain a few followers, and thus sowed the first fertile seeds of dissent, or elements of dispute or of change, which ever increase with the growth of a sect or a system. * Hur Govind was not, perhaps, more than eleven years of age at his father's death, but he was moved by his followers to resent the enmity of Chundoo Shah, and he is represented either to have procured his condemnation by the emperor, or to have slain him by open force without reference to authority. † Whatever may be the truth about the death of Chundoo and the first years of Hur Govind's ministry, it is certain that, in a short time, he became a military leader as well as a spiritual teacher. Nanuk had sanctioned or enjoined secular occupations, Arjoon carried the injunction into practice, and the impulse thus given speedily extended and became general.

Malcolm (*Sketch*, p. 32) appears to confound Chundoo Shah (or Dhunee Chund) with Goor Dass.

* Malcolm, *Sketch*, p. 30. and *Dabistan*, ii. 273. These sectaries were called *Meena*, a term commonly used in the Punjab, and which is expressive of contempt or opprobrium, as stated by Mohsun Fanee. The proneness to sectarianism among the first Christians was noticed and deprecated by Paul. (1 Corinthians, i. 10-13)

† Compare Forster, *Travels*, ii. 298.

The temper and the circumstances of Hur Govind both prompted him to innovation ; he had his father's death to move his feelings, and in surpassing the example of his parent, even the jealous dogma of the Hindoo law, which allows the most lowly to arm in self-defence, may not have been without its influence on a mind acquainted with the precepts of Munnoo.* Arjoon trafficked as a merchant and played his part as a priest in affairs of policy ; but Hur Govind grasped a sword, and marched with his devoted followers among the troops of the empire, or boldly led them to oppose and overcome provincial governors or personal enemies. Nanuk had himself abstained from animal food, and the prudent Arjoon endeavoured to add to his saintly merit or influence by a similar moderation ; but the adventurous Hur Govind became a hunter and an eater of flesh, and his disciples imitated him in these robust practices.† The genial disposition of the martial Apostle led him to rejoice in the companionship of a camp, in the dangers of war, and in the excitements of the chase, nor is it improbable that the policy of a temporal chief mingled with the feelings of an injured son and with the duties of a religious guide, so as to shape his acts to the ends of his ambition, although *that* may not have aimed at more than a partial independence under the mild supremacy of the son of Akber. Hur Govind

* For this last supposition, see Malcolm, *Sketch*, pp. 44, 189. There is perhaps some straining after nicety of reason in the notion, as Munnoo's injunction had long become obsolete in such matters, especially under Mahometan supremacy.

† The *Dabistan*, ii. 248 and Malcolm, *Sketch*, p. 36

appears to have admitted criminals and fugitives among his followers, and where a principle of antagonism had already arisen, they may have served him zealously without greatly reforming the practice of their lives; and, indeed, they are stated to have believed that the faithful Sikh would pass unquestioned into heaven. * He had a stable of eight hundred horses; three hundred mounted followers were constantly in attendance upon him, and a guard of sixty matchlock-men secured the safety of his person, had he ever feared or thought of assassination. † The impulse which he gave to the Sikhs was such as to separate them a long way from all Hindoo sects, and after the time of Hur Govind the "disciples" were in little danger of relapsing into the limited merit or utility of monks and mendicants.‡

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* The *Dabistan*, ii. 284, 286.

† The *Dabistan*, ii. 277.

‡ The warlike resistance of Hur Govind, or the arming of the Sikhs by that teacher, is mainly attributed by Malcolm (*Sketch*, p. 34, 35) and Forster (*Travels*, i. 298, 299) to his personal feelings of revenge for the death of his father, although religious animosity against Mahometans is allowed to have had some share in bringing about the change. The circumstance of the Gooroo's military array does not appear to have struck Mohsun Fanee as strange or unsual, and his work, the Dabistan does not therefore endeavor to account for it. The Sikhs themselves connect the modification of Nanuk's system with the double nature of the mythological Junnuk of Mithila, whose released soul, indeed, is held to have animated the body of their first teacher (*Dabistan*, ii. 268.), and they have encumbered their *ideal* of a ruler with the following *personal* anecdote: The wife of Arjoon was without children, and she began to despair of ever becoming a mother. She went to Bhaee

Hur Govind became a follower of the Emperor Jehangheer, and to the end of his life his conduct partook as much of the military adventurer as of the enthusiastic zealot. He accompanied the imperial camp to Cashmeer, and he is at one time represented as in holy colloquy with the religious guide of the Moghul, and

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Boodha, the ancient and only surviving companion of Nanuk, to beseech his blessing; but he, disliking the degree of state she assumed and her costly offerings, would not notice her. She afterwards went barefooted and alone to his presence, crrrying on her head the ordinary food of peasants. The Bhaee smiled benignly upon her, and said she should have a son, who would be master both of the *Deg* and *Tegh*; that is, simply of a vessel for food and a sword, but typically of grace and power, the terms corresponding in significance with the "Raj" and "Jog" of Junnuk[1], the "Peeree" and "Meeree" of Indian Mahometans, and with the idea of the priesthood and kingship residing in Melchisedec and in the expected Messiah of the Jews. Thus Hur Govind is commonly said to have worn two swords, one to denote his spiritual, and the other his temporal power; or, as he may sometimes have chosen to express it, one to avenge his father, and the other to destroy Mahommetanism. (See Malcolm, *Sketch*, p. 35)

The fate of Arjoon, and the personal character of his son, had doubtless some share in leading the Sikhs to take up arms; but the whole progress of the change is not yet apparent, nor perhaps do the means exist of tracing it. The same remark applies to the early Christian history, and we are left in

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1 "Raj men jog koomaio," to attain immortal purity or virtue, or to dwell in grace while exercising earthly sway. It is an expression of not unfrequent use, and which occurs in the Adee Grunt'h, in the "Suweias," by certain Bhats. Thus one Beeka says, Ram Das (the fourth Gooroo) got the "Tukht," or throne, of Raj and Jog, from Ummer Das."

at another as involved in difficulties with the emperor about retaining for himself that money which he should have disbursed to his troops. He had, too, a multitude of followers, and his passion for the chase, and fancied independence as a teacher of men, may have led him to offend against the sylvan laws of the court. The emperor was displeased, the fine imposed on Arjoon had never been paid, and Hur Govind was placed as a prisoner on scanty food in the fort of Gwalior. But the faithful Sikhs continued to revere the mysterious virtues or the real merits of their leader. They flocked to Gwalior, and bowed themselves before the walls which restrained their persecuted Gooroo, till at last the prince, moved, perhaps, as much by superstition as by pity, released him from confinement.*

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ignorance of how that modification of feeling and principle was brought about, which made those who were so averse to the "business of war and government" in the time of the Cæsars, fill the armies of the empire in the reign of Diocletian, and at last give a military master to the western world in the person of Constantine. (Compare Gibbon, *History*, ii. 325, 375 ed. of 1838.)

* Compare the *Dabistan*, ii. 273, 274 and Forster, *Travels* i. 298, 299. But the journey to Cashmeer, and the controversy with Mahometan saints or Moollas, are given on the authority of the native chronicles. Mohsun Fanee represents Hur Govind to have been imprisoned for twelve years, and Forster attributes his release to the intervention of a Mahometan leader, who had originally induced him to submit to the emperor.

The Emperor Jehangheer, in his *Memoirs*, gives more than one instance of his credulity and superstitious reverence for reputed saints and magicians. See particularly his *Memoirs*, p. 129 &c. where his visit to a worker of wonders is narrated

On the death of Jehangheer is 1628, Hur Govind continued in the employ of the Mahometan government, but he appears soon to have been led into a course of armed resistance to the imperial officers in the Punjab. A disciple brought some valuable horses from Toorkistan; they were seized, as was said, for the emperor, and one was conferred as a gift on the Kazee or Judge of Lahore. The Gooroo recovered this one animal by pretending to purchase it; the judge was deceived, and his anger was further roused by the abduction of, the Sikhs say his daughter, the Mahometans, his favorite concubine, who had become enamoured of the Gooroo. Other things may have rendered Hur Govind obnoxious, and it was resolved to seize him and to disperse his followers. He was assailed by one Mookhlis Khan, but he defeated the imperial troops near Amritsir, fighting, it is idly said, with five thousand men against seven thousand. Afterwards a Sikh, a converted robber, stole two of the emperor's prime horses from Lahore, and the Gooroo was again attacked by the provincial levies, but the detachment was routed and its leaders slain. Hur Govind now deemed it prudent to retire for a time to the wastes of Bhutinda, south of the Sutlej, where it might be useless or dangerous to follow him; but he watched his opportunity and speedily returned to the Punjab, only, however, to become engaged in fresh contentions. The mother of one Payenda Khan, who had subsequently risen to some local eminence, had been the nurse of Hur Govind, and the Gooroo had ever been liberal to his foster-brother. Payenda Khan, was moved to keep to himself a valuable hawk, belonging to the Gooroo's eldest son,

which had flown to his house by chance: he was taxed with the detention of the bird; he equivocated before the Gooroo, and became soon after his avowed enemy. The presence of Hur Govind seems ever to have raised a commotion, and Payenda Khan was fixed upon as a suitable leader to coerce him. He was attacked; but the warlike Apostle slew the friend of his youth with his own hand, and proved again a victor. In this action a soldier rushed furiously upon the Gooroo; but he warded the blow and laid the man dead at his feet, exclaiming, "Not so, but thus, is the sword used;" an observation from which the author of the Dabistan draws the inference "that Hur Govind struck not in anger, but deliberately and to give instruction; for the function of a Gooroo is to teach."*

Hur Govind appears to have had other difficulties and adventures of a similar kind, and occasionally to have been reduced to great straits; but the Sikhs always rallied round him, his religious reputation increased daily, and immediately before his death he was visited by a famous saint of the ancient Persian faith.† He died in peace in 1645, at Keeritpoor on the Sutlej, a place bestowed upon him by the hill chief of Kuhloor, and the veneration of his followers took the terrible form of self-sacrifice. A Rajpoot convent threw himself amid the flames of the funeral pyre, and walked

* See the *Dabistan*, ii. 275; but native accounts, Sikh and Mahometan, have been mainly followed in narrating the sequence of events. Compare, however, the *Dabistan*, ii. 284, for the seizure of horses belonging to a disciple of the Gooroo.

† The *Dabistan*, ii. 280.

several paces till he died at the feet of his master. A Jut disciple did the same, and others, wrought upon by these examples, were ready to follow, when Hur Raee, the succeeding Gooroo, interfered and forbade them.*

During the ministry of Hur Govind, the Sikhs increased greatly in numbers, and the fiscal policy of Arjoon, and the armed system of his son, had already formed them into a kind of separate state within the empire. The Gooroo was perhaps not unconscious of his latent influence, when he played with the credulity or rebuked the vanity of his Mahometan friend. "A Raja of the north," said he, "has sent an ambassador to ask about a place called Delhi, and the name and parentage of its king. I was astonished that he had not heard of the commander of the faithful, the lord of the ascendant, Jehangheer."† But during his busy

* This is related on the authority of the *Dabistan*, ii. 280, 281. Hur Govind's death is also given agreeably to the text of the Dabistan as having occurred on the 3d Mohurrum, 1055 Hijree, or on the 19th Feb. 1645, A. D. Malcolm, *Sketch*, p. 37, and Forster, *Travels*, i. 299, give 1644 A. D. as the exact or probable date, obviously from regarding 1701 Sumbut (which Malcolm also quotes) as indentical throughout, instead of for about the first nine months only, with 1644 A. D., an error which may similarly apply to several conversions of dates in this history. The manuscript accounts consulted, place the Gooroo's death variously in 1637, 1638, and 1639 A. D.; but they lean to the middle term. All, however, must be too early, as Mohsun Fanee (*Dabistan*, ii. 281) says he saw Hur Govind in 1643 A. D. Hur Govind's birth is placed by the native accounts in the early part of 1652 Sumbut, corresponding with the middle of 1595 A. D.

† See the *Dabistan*, ii. 276, 277. The friend being Mohsun Fanee himself. The story perhaps shows that the Sikh truly

life he never forget his genuine character, and always styled himself "Nanuk," in deference to the firm belief of the Sikhs, that the soul of their great teacher animated each of his successors.* So far as Hur Govind knew or thought of philosophy as a science, he fell into the prevailing views of the period : God, he said, is one, and world is an illusion, an appearance without a reality ; or, he would adopt the more pantheistic notion, and regard the universe as composing the one Being. But such reflections did not occupy his mind or engage his heart, and the rebuke of a Brahmin that if the world was the same as God, he, the Gooroo, was one with the ass grazing hard by, provoked a laugh only from the tolerant Hur Govind.† That he thought conscience and understanding our only divine guides, may probably be inferred from his reply to one who declared the marriage of a brother with a sister to be forbidden by the Almighty. Had God prohibited it, said he, it would be impossible for man to accomplish it. ‡ His contempt for idolatry, and his occasional wide departure from the mild and conciliatory ways of Nanuk, may be judged from the following anecdote :—

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considered the Mahometan to be a gossiping, and somewhat credulous person. The dates would rather point to Shah Jehan as the emperor alluded to than Jehangheer, as given parenthetically in the translated text of the Dabistan. Jehangheer died in 1628 A. D. and Mohsun Fanee's acquaintance with Hur Govind appears not to have taken place till towards the last years of the Gooroo's life, or till after 1640 A. D.

* Compare the *Dabistan*, ii. 281.

† Compare the *Dabistan*, ii. 277, 279, 280.

‡ The *Dabistan*, ii. 280.

One of his followers smote the nose off an image; the several neighbouring chiefs complained to the Gooroo, who summoned the Sikh to his presence; the culprit denied the act, but said ironically, that if the god bore witness against him, he would die willingly. "Oh, fool!" said the Raja, "how should the God speak?" "It is plain," answered the Sikh, "who is the fool; if the God cannot save his own head, how will he avail you?" *

Goordut, the eldest son of Hur Govind, had acquired a high reputation, but he died before his father, leaving two sons, one of whom succeeded to the Apostleship. † Hur Raee, the new Gooroo, remained at Keeritpoor for a time until the march of troops to reduce the Kuhloor

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* The *Dabistan*, ii. 276.

† For some allusions to Goordut or Gooroditta, see the *Dabistan*, ii. 281, 282. His memory is yet fondly preserved, and many anecdotes are current of his personal strength and dexterity. His tomb is at Keeritpoor on the Sutlej, and it has now become a place of pilgrimage. In connection with his death, a story is told, which at least serves to mark the aversion of the Sikh teachers to claim the obedience of the multitude by an assumption of miraculous powers. Gooroditta had raised a slaughtered cow to life, on the prayer, some say, of a poor man the owner, and his father was displeased that he should so endeavour to glorify himself. Gooroditta said that as a life was required by God, and as he had withheld one, he would yield his own; whereupon he lay down and gave up his spirit. A similar story is told of Uttul Raee, the youngest son of Hur Govind, who had raised the child of a sorrowing widow to life. His father reproved him saying, Gooroos should display their powers in purity of doctrine and holiness of living. The youth, or child as some say, replied as Gooroditta had done, and died. His tomb is in Amritsir, and is likewise a place deemed sacred.

Raja to obedience induced him to remove eastward into the district of Sirmoor. * There he also remained in peace until he was induced, in 1658-69, to take part, of a nature not distinctly laid down, with Dara Shekoh, in the strugle between him and his brothers for the empire of India. Dara failed, his adherents became rebels, and Hur Raee had to surrender his elder son as a hostage. The youth was treated with distinction and soon released, and the favor of the politic Aurungzeb is believed to have roused the jealousy of the father. † But the end of Hur Raee was at hand, and he died at Keeritpoor in the year 1661. ‡ His ministry was mild, yet such as won for him general respect ; and many of the "Bhaees," or brethren, the descendants of the chosen companions of a Gooroo, trace their descent to one disciple or other distinguished by Hur Raee. §

Goorditta's younger son was named Dheermull, and his descendants are still to be found at Kurtarpoor, in the Jalundhur Dooab.

* See the *Dabistan*, ii. 282. The place meant seems to be Tuksal or Tungsal, near the present British station of Kussowlee to the northward of Ambala.

The important work of Mohsun Fanee brings down the history of the Sikhs to this point only.

† The Gooroo's leaning towards Dara, is given on the authority of native accounts only, but it is highly probable in itself, considering Dara's personal character and religious principles.

‡ The authorities mostly agree as to the date of Hur Raee's death, but one account places it in 1662 A. D. The Gooroo's birth is differently placed in 1628 and 1629.

§ Of these Bhaee Bhugtoo, the founder of the Kythul family, useful partizans of Lord Lake, but now reduced to comparative

Some sects also of Sikhs, who affect more than ordinary precision, had their origin during the peaceful supremacy of the Gooroo. *

Hur Raee left two sons, Ram Raee, about fifteen, and Hurkishen, about six years of age ; but the elder was the offspring of a handmaiden, and not of a wife of equal degree, and Hur Raee is further said to have declared the younger his successor. The disputes between the partizans of the two brothers ran high, and the decision was at last referred to the emperor. Aurungzeb may have been willing to allow the Sikhs to choose their own Gooroo, as some accounts have it, but the more cherished tradition relates that, being struck

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insignificance under the operation of the British system of escheat, was one of the best known. Dhurrum Singh, the ancestor of the respectable Bhaees of Bagreean, a place between the Sutlej and Jumna, was likewise a follower of Hur Raee.

Now-a-days the title of Bhaee is in practice frequently given to any Sikh of eminent sanctity, whether his ancestor were the companion of a Gooroo or not. The Behdees and Sodhees, however, confine themselves to the distinctive names of their tribes, or the Behdees call themselves Baba or father, and the Sodhees, sometimes arrogate to themselves the title of Gooroo, as the representatives of Govind and Ram Das.

* Of these sects the Soot'hrees or the Soothra-Shahees, are the best known. Their founder was one Sootcha, a Brahmin and they have a *st'han dehra*, or place under the walls of the citadel of Lahore. (Compare Wilson, *As. Res.*, xvii. 236.) The name, or designation, means simply the pure. Another follower of Hur Raee, was a Khutree trader, named Futtoo, who got the title, or adopted the name, of Bhaee Pheeroo, and who, according to the belief of some people, became the real founder of the Oodassees.

with the child's instant recognition of the empress among a number of ladies similarly arrayed, he declared the right of Hurkishen to be indisputable, and he was accordingly recognised as head of the Sikhs: but before the infant Apostle could leave Dehli, he was attacked with small-pox, and died, in 1664, at that place. *

When Hurkishen was about to expire, he is stated to have signified that his successor would be found in the village of Bukkala, near Goindwal, on the Beeas river. In this village there were many of Hur Govind's relatives, and his son Tegh Buhadur, after many wanderings and a long sojourn at Patna, on the Ganges, had taken up his residence at the same place. Ram Raee continued to assert his claims, but he never formed a large party, and Tegh Buhadur was generally acknowledged as the leader of the Sikhs. The son of Hur Govind was rejoiced, but he said he was unworthy to wear his father's sword, and in a short time his supremacy and his life were both endangered by the machinations of Ram Raee, and perhaps by his own suspicious proceedings. † He was summoned to Dehli

* Compare Malcolm, *Sketch*, p. 38, and Forster, *Travels* i. 299. One native account places Hurkishen's death in 1666 A. D., but 1664 seems the preferable date. His birth took place in 1656 A. D.

† Compare, generally, Malcolm, *Sketch* p. 38, Forster, *Travels* i. 299., and *Browne's India Tracts*, ii. 3, 4. Tegh Buhadur's refusal to wear the sword of his father, is given, however, on the authority of manuscript native accounts, which likewise furnish a story, showing the particular act which led to his recognition as Gooroo. A follower of the sect, named Mukhun

as a pretender to power and as a disturber of the peace, but he had found a listener in the chief of Jeypoor; the Rajpoot advocated his cause, saying such holy men rather went on pilgrimages than aspired to sovereignty, and he would take him with him on his approaching march to Bengal. * Tegh Buhadur accompanied the Raja to the eastward. He again resided for a time at Patna, but afterwards joined the army, to bring success, says the chronicler, to the expedition against the chiefs of Assam. He meditated on the banks of the Burhampooter, and he is stated to have convinced the heart

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Sah (or Shah), who was passing through Bukkala, wished to make an offering to the Gooroo of his faith, but he was perplexed by the number of claimants. His offering was to be 525 rupees in all, but [the amount was known to him alone, and he silently resolved to give a rupee to each, and to hail him as Gooroo who should (from intuition) claim the remainder. Tegh Buhadur demanded the balance, and so on.

* Forster and Malcolm, who follow native Indian accounts, both give Jaee Sing as the name of the prince who countenanced Tegh Buhadur, and who went to Bengal on an expedition; but one manuscript account refers to Beer Singh as the friendly chief. Tod (*Rajastan*, ii. 355.) says, Ram Singh, the son of the first Jaee Sing, went to Assam, but he is silent about his actions. It is not unusual in India to talk of eminent men as living, although long since dead, as a Sikh will now say he is Runjeet Singh's soldier; and it is probable that Ram Singh was nominally forgotten owing to the fame of his father, the "Mirza Raja," and even that the Sikh chroniclers of the early part of the last century confounded the first with the second of the name, their contemporary Suwaee Jaee Singh, the noted astronomer and patron of the learned. Malcolm (*Sketch*, p. 39. who, perhaps, copies Forster (*Travels*, i. 299, 300), says, Tegh Buhadur was, at this time, imprisoned for two years.

of the Raja of Kamroop, and to have made him a believer in his mission. *

After a time Tegh Buhadur returned to the Punjab, and bought a piece of ground, now known as Makhowal, on the banks of Sutlej, and close to Keeritpoor, the chosen residence of his father. But the hostility and the influence of Ram Raee still pursued him, and the ordinary Sikh accounts represent him a pious and innocent instructor of men, as once more arraigned at Dehli in the character of a criminal; but the truth seems to be that Tegh Buhadur followed the example of his father with unequal footsteps, and that choosing for his haunts the wastes between Hansee and the Sutlej, he subsisted himself and his disciples by plunder, in a way, indeed, that rendered him not unpopular with the peasantry. He is further credibly represented to have leagued with a Mahometan zealot, named Adum Hafiz, and to have levied contributions upon rich Hindoos, while his confederate did the same upon wealthy Mussulmans. They gave a ready asylum to all fugitives, and their power interfered with the prosperity of the country; the imperial troops marched against them, and they were at last defeated and made prisoners. The Mahometan saint was banished, but Aurungzeb determined that the Sikh should be put to death. †

* These last two clauses are almost wholly on the authority of a manuscript Goormookhee summary of Tegh Buhadur's life.

† The author of the Seir ool Mutakhereen (i. 112, 113) mentions these predatory or insurrectionary proceedings of Tegh Buhadur, and the ordinary manuscript compilations admit

When Tegh Buhadur was on his way to Dehli, he sent for his youthful son, and girding upon him the sword of Hur Govind, he hailed him as the Gooroo of the Sikhs. He told him he was himself being led to death, he counselled him not to leave his body a prey to dogs, and he enjoined upon him the necessity and the merit of revenge. At Dehli, the story continues, he was summoned before the emperor, and half insultingly, half credulously, told to exhibit miracles in proof of the alleged divinity of his mission. Tegh Buhadur answered that the duty of man was to pray to the Lord; yet he would do one thing, he would write a charm, and the sword should fall harmless on the neck around which it was hung. He placed it arround his own neck and inclined his head to the executioner : a blow sereved it, to the surprise of a court tinged with superstition, and upon the paper was found written, "Sir deea, Sirr ne deea,"—he had given his head but not his secret ; his life was gone, but his inspiration or apostolic virtue still remained in the world. Such is the narrative of a rude and wonder-loving people ; yet it is more certain that Tegh Buhadur was put to death as a rebel in 1675, and that the stern and bigoted Aurungzeb had the body of the unbeliever publicly exposed in the streets of Dehli.*

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that such charges were made, but deprecate a belief in them. For Makhowal the Gooroo is said to have paid 500 rupees to the Raja of Kuhloor.

* All the accounts agree that Tegh Buhadur was ignominiously put to death. The end of the year 1675 A. D.—as Mugser, is sometimes given as the month—seems the most certain date of his execution. is birth, is differently placed in 1612 and 1621 A. D

Tegh Buhadur seems to have been of a character hard and moody, and to have wanted both the genial temper of his father and the lofty mind of his son. Yet his own example powerfully aided in making the disciples of Nanuk a martial as well as a devotional people. His reverence for the sowrd of his father, and his repeated injunctions that his disciples should obey the bearer of his arrows, show more of the kingly than of the priestly spirit; and, indeed, about this time the Sikh Gooroos came to talk of themselves, and to be regarded by their followers, as "Sutcha Padshahs," or as "veritable kings," meaning, perhaps, that they governed by just influence and not by the force of arms, or that they guided men to salvation, while others controlled their worldly actions. But the expression could be adapted to any circumstances, and its mystic application seems to have preyed upon and perplexed the minds of the Moghul princes, while it illustrates the assertion of an intelligent Mahometan writer, that Tegh Buhadur, being at the head of many thousand men, aspired to sovereign power.*

When Tegh Buhadur was put to death, his only son was in his fifteenth year. The violent end and the

* Syed Gholam Hosein, the author of the *Seir ool Mutakhereen* (i. 112), is the writer referred to.

Browne, in his *India Tracts* (ii. 2, 3), and who use a compilation, attributes Aurungzeb's resolution to put Tegh Buhadur to death, to his assumption of the character of a "true king," and to his use of the title of "Buhadur," expressive of valour, birth, and dignity. The Gooroo, in the narrative referred to disavows all claim to miraculous powers. For some remarks on the term "Sutcha Padshah," see note † p. 111 of this chapter.

last injunction of the martyr Gooroo, made a deep impression on the mind of Govind, and in brooding over his own loss and the fallen condition of his country, he became the irreconcileable foe of the Mahometan name, and conceived the noble idea of moulding the vanquished Hindoos into a new and aspiring people. But Govind was yet young, the government was suspicious of his followers, and among the Sikhs themselves there were parties inimical to the son of Tegh Buhadur. His friends were therefore satisfied that the mutilated body of the departed Gooroo was recovered by the zeal and dexterity of some humble disciples, * and that the son himself performed the funeral rites so essential to the welfare of the living and the peace of the dead. Govind was placed in retirement amid the lower hills on either side of the Jumna, and for a series of years he occupied himself in hunting the tiger and wild boar, in acquiring a knowledge of the Persian languages, and in storing his mind with those ancient legends, which describe the mythic glories of his race.†

Tegh Buhadur's objections to wear his father's sword, and his injunction to reverence his arrows, that is, to heed what the bearer of them should say, are given on native authority.

* Certain men of the unclean and despised caste of Sweepers were despatched to Dehli to bring away the dispersed limbs of Tegh Buhadur, and it is said they partly owed their success to the exertions of that Mukhun Shah, who had been the first to hail the deceased as Gooroo.

† The accounts mostly agree as to this seclusion and occupation of Govind during his early manhood; but Forster (*Travels*, i. 301), and also some Goormookhee accounts, state that he was taken to Patna in the first instance, and that he lived there for some time before he retired to the Sireenuggur hills.

In this obscurity Govind remained perhaps twenty years ; * but his youthful promise gathered round him the disciples of Nanuk, he was acknowleded as the head of the Sikhs, the adherents of Ram Raee declined into a sect of dissenters, and the neighbouring chiefs became impressed with a high sense of the Gooroo's superiority and the vague dread of his ambition. But Govind ever dwelt upon the fate of his father, and the oppressive bigotry of Aurungzeb ; study and reflection had enlarged his mind, experience of the world had matured his judgment, and, under the mixed impulse of avenging his own and his country's wrongs, he resolved upon awakening his followers to a new life, and upon giving precision and aim to the broad and general institutions of Nanuk. In the heart of a powerful empire the set himself to the task of subverting it, and from the midst of social degradation and religious corruption, he called up simplicity of manners, singleness of purpose, and enthusiasm of desire. †

* The period is nowhere definitely given by English or Indian writers ; but from a comparison of dates and circumstances, it seems probable that Govind did not take upon himself a new and special character as a teacher of men until about his thirty-fifth year, or until the year 1695 of Christ. A Sikh author, indeed, quoted by Malcolm (*Sketch*, p. 186 note), makes Govind's reforms date from 1696 A. D. ; but contradictorily one or more of Govind's sayings or writings are made to date about the same period from the south of India, whither he proceeded only just before his death.

† The ordinary accounts represent Govind, as they represent his grandfather, to have been mainly moved to wage war against Mahometans by a desire of avenging the death of his parents. It would be unreasonable to deny to Govind the merit of other

Govind was equally bold, systematic, and sanguine; but it is not necessary to suppose him either an unscrupulous impostor or a self-deluded enthusiast. He thought that the minds of men might be wrought upon to great purpose, he deplored the corruption of the world, he resented the tyranny which endangered his own life, and he believed the time had come for another teacher to arouse the latent energies of the human will. His memory was filled with the deeds of primæval seers and heroes; his imagination dwelt on successive dispensations for the instruction of the world, and his mind was not perhaps untinged with a superstitious belief in his own earthly destiny. In an extant and authentic composition,* he traces his mortal descent to ancient kings, and he extols the piety of his immediate parents which rendered them acceptable to God. But his own

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motives likewise; but doubtless, the fierce feeling in question strongly impelled him in the prosecution of his lofty and comprehensive design. The sentiment is indeed common to all times and places; it is as common in the present Indian as it was in the ancient European world; and even the "most Christian of poets" has used it without rebuke to justify the anger of a shade in Hades, and his own sympathy as a mortal man yet dwelling in in the world:—

"Oh guide beloved!
His violent death yet unavenged, said I,
By any who are partners in his shame
Made him contemptuous; therefore, as I think,
He passed me speechless by, and doing so
Hath made me more compassionate his fate."

Dante, *Hell*, xxix. *Cary's Translation.*

* The Vichitr Natuk, or Wondrous Tale, which forms a portion of the Duswen P[illegible]dsha ka Grant'h or Book of the Tenth King.

unembodied soul, he says, reposed in bliss, wrap in meditation, and it murmured that it should appear on earth even as the chosen messenger of the Lord—the inheritor of the spirit of Nanuk, transmitted to him as one lamp imparts its flame to another.* He describes how the "Deityas" had been vainly sent to reprove the wickedness of man, and how the succeeding "Deotas" procured worship for themselves as Siva and Bruhma and Vishnoo. How the Siddhs had established divers sects, how Gorukhnath and Ramanund introduced other modes, and how Mahomet had required men to repeat his own name when beseeching the Almighty. Each perversely, continues Govind, established ways of his own and misled the world, but he himself had came to declare a perfect faith, to extend virtue, and to destroy evil. Thus, he said, had he been manifested, but *he* was only as other men, the servant of the supreme, a beholder of the wonders of creation,

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* The reader will contrast what Virgil says of the shade of Rome's "great emperor," with the devoted question of the Indian reformer :—

" There mighty Cæsar waits his vital hour,
Impatient for the world, and grasps his promised power."
—*Æneid*, vi.

He will also call to mind the sentiment of Milton, which the more ardent Govind has greatly heightened.

" He asked, but all the heavenly quire stood mute,
And silence was in heaven : on man's behalf,
Patron or intercessor none appeard."

Until Christ himself said—

"Account me man, I for his sake will leave
Thy bosom, and this glory next to thee
Freely put off." *Paradise Lost*, iii.

and whosoever worshipped *him* as the Lord should assuredly burn in everlasting flame. The practices of Mahometans and Hindoos he declared to be of no avail, the reading of Korans and Poorans was all in vain, and the votaries of idols and the worshippers of the dead could never attain to bliss. God he said, was not to be found in texts or in modes, but in humility and sincerity. *

Such is Govind's mode of presenting his mission; but his followers have extended the allegory, and have variously given an earthly close to his celestial vision. He is stated to have performed the most austere devotions at the fane of the goddess-mother of mankind on the summit of the hill named Neina, and to have asked how in the olden times the heroic Arjoon transpierced multitudes with an arrow. He was told that by prayer and sacrifice the power had been attained. He invited from Benares a Brahmin of great fame for piety and for power over the unseen world. He himself carefully consulted the Veds, and he called upon his numerous disciples to aid in the awful ceremony he was about to perform. Before all he makes successful trial of the virtue of the magician, and an ample altar is laboriously prepared for the *Hom*, or burnt offering. He is told that the goddess will appear to him, an armed shade, and that, undaunted, he should hail her and ask for fortune. The Gooroo, terror-struck, could but advance his sword, as if in saluation to the dread appearance. The goddess touched it in token of accept-

* Compare the extracts given by Malcolm from the Vichitr Natuk (*Sketch*, p. 173. &c)

ance, and a divine weapon, an axe of iron, was seen amid the flames. The sign was declared to be propitious, but fear had rendered the sacrifice incomplete, and Govind must die himself, or devote to death one dear to him, to ensure the triumph of his faith. The Gooroo smiled sadly; he said *he* had yet much to accomplish in this world, and that his father's spirit was still unappeased. He looked towards his children, but maternal affection withdrew them: twenty-five disciples then sprang forward and declared their readiness to perish; one was gladdened by being chosen, and the fates were satisfied. *

Govind is next represented to have again assembled his followers, and made known to them the great objects of his mission. A new faith had been declared, and henceforth the "Khalsa," the saved or liberated †, should alone prevail. God must be worshipped in truthfulness and sincerity, but no material resemblance must degrade the Omnipotent; the Lord could only be beheld by the eye of faith in the general body of the Khalsa.† All, he said, must become as one; the lowest

* This legend is given with several variations, and one may be seen in Malcolm (*Sketch*, p. 53 note), and another in *Macgregor's History of the Sikhs* (i. 71.) Perhaps the true origin of the myth is to be found in Govind's reputed vision during sleep of the great goddess, (Malcolm, p 187) The occurrence is placed in the year 1696 A. D. (Malcolm, *Sketch*, p. 86)

† Khalsa, or Khalisa, is of Arabic derivation, and has such original or secondary meanings, as pure, special, free, &c. It is commonly used in India to denote the immediate territories of any chief or state as distinguished from the lands of tributarie and feudal followers. Khalsa can thus be held either to denot the kingdom of Govind, or that the Sikhs are the chosen people.se

were equal with the highest ; caste must be forgotten ; they must accept the "Pahul" or initiation from him, * and the four races must eat as one out of one vessel. The Toorks must be destroyed, and the graves of those called saints neglected. The ways of the Hindoos must be abandoned, their temples viewed as holy and their rivers looked upon as sacred ; the Brahmin's thread must be broken ; by means of the Khalsa alone could slavation be attained, They must surrender themselves wholly to their faith and to him their guide. Their words must be "Kritnash, Koolnash, Dhurmnash, Kurmnash," the forsaking of occupation and family, of belief and ceremonies. "Do thus," said Govind, "and the world is yours."† Many Brahmin and Khutree followers murmured, but the contemned races rejoiced ;

* This assurance is given in the Rahet Nameh, or Rule of Life of Govind, which, however, is not included in the Grunt'h. In the same composition he says, or is held to have said, that the believer who wishes to see the Gooroo, shall behold him in the Khalsa.

Those who object to such similitudes, or to such struggles of the mind after precision, should remember that Abelared likened the Trinity to a Syllogism with its three terms ; and that Wallis, with admitted orthodoxy, compared the Godhead to a mathematical cube with its three dimensions. (*Bayle's Dictionary*, art. "Abelard")

† Pahul (pronounced nearly as *Powel*), means literally a gate, a door, and thence initiation. The word may have the same origin as the Greek

‡ The text gives the substance and usually the very words of the numerous accounts to the same purport (Compare also Malcolm, *Sketch*, p. 148, 151)

they reminded Govind of their devotion and services, and asked that *they* also should be allowed to bathe in the sacred pool, and offer up prayers in the temple of Amritsir. The murmurings of the twice-born increased, and many took their departure, but Govind exclaimed that the lowly should be raised, and that hereafter the despised should dwell next to himself.* Govind then poured water in to a vessel and stirred it with the sacrificial axe, or with the sword rendered divine by the touch of the goddess. His wife passed by, as it were by chance, bearing confections of five kinds : he hailed the omen as propitious, for the coming of woman denoted an offspring to the Khalsa numerous as the leaves of the forest. He mingled the sugars with the water, and then sprinkled a portion of it upon five faithful

* Chooras, or men of the Sweeper caste, brought away the remain of Tegh Buhadur from Dehli, as has been mentioned (*ante*, p. 70, note). Many of that despised, but not oppressed, race, have adopted the Sikh faith in the Punjab, and they are commonly known as *Rungret'ha* Sikhs. *Runggur* is a term applied to the Rajpoots about Delhi who have become Mahometans ; but in Malwa the predatory Hindoo Rajpoots are similarly styled, perhaps from *Runk* a poor man, in opposition to *Rana* one of high degree. Rungret'ha seems thus rather a diminutive of Runggur, than a derivative of *rung* (colour) as commonly understood. The Rungret'ha Sikhs are sometimes styled *Muzhubee*, or of the (Mahometan) faith, from the circumstance that the converts from Islam are so called, and that may sweepers throughout India have become Mahometans

In allusion, to the design of inspiring the Hindoos with a new life, Govind is reported to have said that he would teach the sparrow to strike the eagle." (See Malcolm, *Sketch* p. 74., where it is used with reference to Aurungzeb, but the saying is attributed to Govlnd under various circumstances by different authors)

disciples, a Brahmin, a Bhutree, and three Soodras. He hailed them as "Singhs," and declared them to be the Khalsa. He himself received from them the "Pahul" of his faith and became Govind Singh, saying that hereafter, whenever five Sikhs should be assembled together, there he also would be present.*

Govind thus abolished social distinctions,† and took away from his followers each ancient solace of super-

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* The Brahmin noviciate is stated to have been an inhabitant of the Deccan, and the Khutree of the Punjab; one Soodra, a Jeewur (Kuhar), was of Juggernath, the second, a Jat, was of Hustinapoor, and the third, a Cheepa or cloth painter, was of Dwaraka in Goojrat.

For the declaration about five Sikhs forming a congregation, or about the assembly of five men ensuring the presence or the grace of Gooroo, compare Malcolm, *Sketch*, p. 186.

Govind had originally the cognomen, or titular name, of "Raee," one in common use among Hindoos, and largely adopted under the variation of "Rao" by the military Mahrattas; but declaring the comprehensive nature of his reform, the Gooroo adopted for himself and follower the distinctive appellation of "Singh" meaning literally a lion, and metaphorically a champion or warrior. It is the most common of the distinctive names in use among Rajpoots, and it is now the invariable termination of every proper name among the disciples of Govind. It is sometimes used alone, as Khan is used among the Mahometans, to denote pre-eminence. Thus Sikh chiefs would talk of Runjeet Singh, as ordinary Sikhs will talk of their own immediate leaders, as the "Sing Sahib" almost equivalent to "Sir King" or "Sir Knight," in English. Strangers likewise often address any Sikh respectfully as "Singhjee."

† It may nevertheless be justly observed that Hur Govind abolished *caste* rather by implication than by a direct enactment, and it may be justly objected that the Sikhs still uphold the principal distinctions at least of race. Thus the Gooroos nowhere

stition ; but he felt that he must engage the heart as well as satisfy the reason, and that he must give the Sikhs some common bonds of union which should remind the weak of their new life, and add fervor to the devotion of the sincere. They should have one form of initiation, he said, the sprinkling of water by five of the

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say that Brahmins and Soodras are to intermarry, or that they are daily to partake together of the same food ; but that they laid a good foundation for the practical obliteration of all differences will be evident from the following quotations, always bearing in mind the vast pre-eminence which they assign to religious unity and truth over social sameness or political equality :—

"Think not of caste : abase thyself, and attain to salvation." —*Nanuk*, *Sarung Rag*.

"God will not ask man of what race he is ; he will ask him what has he done ?"—*Nanuk*, *Purbhatee Raginee*.

"Of the impure among the noblest,
Heed not the injunction;
Of one pure among the most despised,
Nanuk will become the footstool."

Nanuk, *Mulhar Rag*.

"All of the seed of Bruhm (God) are Brahmins :
They say there are four races,
But all are of the seed of Bruhm."

Ummer Das, *Bheiruv*.

"Khutree, Brahmin, Soodra, Veisya, whoever remembers the name of God, who worships him always, &c. &c., shall attain to salvation."—*Ram Das*, *Bilawul*.

"The four races shall be one,
All shall call on the Gooroo."

Govind, in the *Rehet Nameh* (not in the *Grunt'h*).

Compare Malcolm (*Sketch*, p. 45, note), for a saying attributed to Govind, that the castes would become one when well mixed, as the four components of the "Pan-Sooparee," or betel, to the Hindoos, became of one colour when well-chewed.

faithful; * they should worship the One Invisible God; they should honour the memory of Nanuk and of his

The Sikhs of course partake in common of the Prusad (vulg. Pershad) or consecrated food, which is ordinarily composed of flour, coarse sugar, and clarified butter. Several, perhaps all, Hindoo sects, however, do the same. (See Wilson, *As. Res.*, xvi. 83, note, and xvii. 239, note.)

* Sikhs are not ordinarily initiated until they reach the age of discrimination and remembrance, or not before they are seven years of age, or sometimes until they have attained to manhood. But there is no authoritative rule on the subject, nor is there any declaratory ceremonial of detail which can be followed. The essentials are that five Sikhs at least should be assembled, and it is generally arranged that one of the number is of some religious repute. Some sugar and water are stirred together in a vessel of any kind, commonly with a two-edged dagger; but any iron weapon will answer. The noviciate stands with his hands joined in an attitude of humility or supplication, and he repeats after the elder or minister the main articles of his faith. Some of the water is sprinkled on his face and person; he drinks the remainder, and exclaims, Hail Gooroo! and the ceremony concludes with an injunction that he be true to God, and to his duty as a Sikh. For details of particular modes followed, see Forster (*Travels*, i. 307.), Malcolm (*Sketch*, p. 182), and Prinsep's edition of *Murray's Life of Runjeet Singh* (p. 217.), where an Indian compiler is quoted.

The original practice of using the water in which the feet of a Sikh had been washed was soon abandoned, and the subsequent custom of touching the water with the toe seems now almost wholly forgotten. The first rule was perhaps instituted to denote the humbleness of spirit of the disciples, or both it and the second practice may have originated in that feeling of the Hindoos which attaches virtue to water in which the thumb of a Brahmin has been dipped. It seems in every way probable that Govind substituted the dagger for the foot or the toe, thus giving further pre-emience to his emblematic iron

transanimate successors;* their watchword should be, Hail Gooroo! † but they should revere and bow to, nought visible save the "Grunt'h," the book of their

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Women are not usually, but they are sometimes, initiated in form as professors of the Sikh faith. In mingling the sugar and water for women, a one-edged, and not a two-edged, dagger is used.

* The use of the word "transanimate" may perhaps be allowed. The Sikh belief in the descent of the individual spirit of Nanuk upon each of his successors, is compared by Govind in the Vichitr Natuk to the imparting of flame from one lamp to another.

† The proper exclamation of community of faith of the Sikhs as a sect is simply, "*Wah Gooroo!*" that is, O Gooroo! or Hail Gooroo! The lengthened exclamations of "Wah! Gooroo ke Futteh!" and "Wah! Gooroo ka Khalsa!" (Hail! Virtue or power of the Gooroo! or, Hail! Gooroo and Victory! and Hail to the state or church of the Gooroo!) are not authoritative, although the former has become customary, and its use, as completing the idea embraced in "Deg" and "Tegh" (see *ante*, note p. 59.) naturally arose out of the notions diffused by Govind, if he did not ordain it as the proper salutation of believers.

Many of the chapters or books into which the Adee Grunt'h is divided, begin with the expression "Eko Oonkar, Sut Gooroo Prusad," which may be interpreted to mean, "the One God, and the grace of the blessed Gooroo." Some of the chapters of the Duswen Padshah ka Grunt'h begin with "Eko Oonkar, Wah Gooroo ke Futteh," that is, "The One God and the power of the Gooroo."

The sikh author of the Goor Rutnaolee gives the following fanciful and trivial origin of the salutation Wah Gooroo!

Wasdeo, the exclamation of the first age, or Sutyoog;

Hur Hur, the exclamation of the second age;

Govind Govind, the exclamation of the third age;

Ram Ram, the exclamation of the fourth age, or Kulyoog;

belief.* They should bathe, from time to time, in the pool of Amritsir; their locks should remain unshorn; they should all name themselves "Singhs," or soldiers, and of material things they should devote their finite energies to steel alone.† Arms should dignify their person; they should be ever waging war, and great would be his merit who fought in the van, who slew an enemy, and who despaired not although overcome. He cut off the three sects of dissenters from all intercourse: the Dheermullees, who had labored to destroy Arjoon; the Ram Raees, who had compassed the death of his

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Whence WaH Goo Roo in the fifth age or under the new dispensation.

* Obeisance to the Grunt'h alone is inculcated in the Rehet Nameh, or rule of Life of Govind, and he endeavoured to guard against being himself made an object of future idolatory, by denouncing (in the Vichitr Natuk) all who should regard him as a god.

† For allusion to this devotion to steel, see Malcolm, *Sketch* I, 48, p. 117, note, and p. 182, note.

The meaning given in the text to the principle inculcated seems to be the true one. Throughout India the implements of any calling are in a manner worshipped, or in western moderation of phrase, they are blessed or consecrated. This is especially noticeable among merchants, who annually perform religious ceremonies before a heap of gold; among hereditary clerks or writers, who similarly idolize their ink-horn; and among soldiers and military leaders, who on the festival of the Dussehra consecrate their banners and piled-up weapons. Govind withdrew his followers from that undivided attention which their fathers had given to the plough, the loom, and the pen, and he urged them to regard the sword as *their*

father ; and the Mussundees, who had resisted his own authority. He denounced the " shaven," meaning, perhaps, all Mahometans and Hindoos ; and for no reason which bears clearly on the worldly scope of his mission, he held up to reprobation those slaves of a perverse custom, who impiously take the lives of their infant daughters. *

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principal stay in this world. The sentiment of veneration for that which gives us power, or safety, or our daily bread, may be traced in all countries. In our own a sailor impersonates, or almost deifies his ship, and in India the custom of hereditary callings has heightened that feeling, which, expressed in the language of philosophy, becomes the dogma admitting the soul to be increate indeed, but enveloped in the understanding, which again is designed for our use in human affairs, or until our bliss is perfect. It is this external or inferior spirit, so to speak, which must devote its energies to the service and contemplation of steel, while the increate soul contemplates God.

The import of the term *Sutcha padshah*, or True King, seems to be explained in the same way. A spiritual king, or Gooroo, rules the eternal soul, or guides it to salvation, while a temporal monarch controls our finite faculties only, or puts restraints upon the play of our passions and the enjoyment of our senses. The Mahometans have the same idea and a corresponding term, viz. : *Malik Hukeekee*.

* These and many other distinctions of Sikhs, may be seen in the Rehet and Tunkha Namehs of Govind, forming part of Appendix IV. of this volume.

Unshorn locks and a blue dress, as the characteristics of a believer, do not appear as direct injunctions in any extant writing attributed to Govind, and they seem chiefly to have derived their distinction as marks from custom or usage, while the propriety of wearing a blue dress is now regarded as less obligatory than formerly. Both usages appear to have originated

Govind had achieved one victory, he had made himself master of the imagination of his followers; but a more laborious task remained, the destruction of the empire of unbelieving oppressors. He had established

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in a spirit of opposition to Hindooism, for many Brahminical devotees keep their heads carefully shaved, and all Hindoos are shaven when initiated into their religious duties or responsibilities, or on the death of a near relative. It is also curious, with regard to color, that many religious, or indeed simply respectable Hindoos, have still an aversion to blue, so much so indeed that a Rajpoot farmer will demur about sowing his fields with indigo. The Mahometans, again, prefer bule dresses, and perhaps the dislike of the Hindoos arose during the Mussulman conquest, as Krishna himself, among others, is described as blue clothed. Thus, the Sikh author, Bhaee Goordas Bhulleh, says of Nanuk, "Again he went to Mecca, blue clothing he had like Krishna." Similarly no Sikh will wear clothes of a "soohee" colour, *i. e.*, dyed with safflower, such having long been the favorite colour with Hindoo devotees as it gradually becoming with Mahometan ascetics

The Sikhs continue to refrain from tobacco, nor do they smoke drugs of any kind, although tobacco itself seems to have been originally included as *snuff* only among proscribed things. Tobacco was first introduced into India about 1617. (*M'Culloch's Commercial Dictionary*, art. "Tobacco.") It was, I think, idly denounced in form by one of Akber's successors, but its use is now universal among Indian Mahometans.

Another point of difference which may be noticed is, that the Sikhs wear a kind of breeches, or now many wear a sort of pantaloons, instead of girding up their loins after the manner of the Hindoos. The adoption of the "kutch," or breeches, is of as much importance to a Sikh boy as was the investiture with the "toga virilis" to Roman youth.

The Sikh women are distinguished from Hindoos of their sex by some variety of dress, but chiefly by a higher top knot of hair.

the Khalsa, the theocracy of Singhs, in the midst of Hindoo delusion and Mahometan error; he had confounded Peers and Moollas, Sadhs and Pundits, but he had yet to vanquish the armies of a great emperor, and to subdue the multitudes whose faith he impugned. The design of Govind may seem wild and senseless to those accustomed to consider the firm sway and regular policy of ancient Rome, and who daily witness the power and resources of the well-ordered governments of modern Europe. But the extensive empires of the East, as of semi-barbarism in the West, have never been based on the sober convictions of a numerous people; they have been mere dynasties of single tribes, rendered triumphant by the rapid development of warlike energy, and by the comprehensive genius of eminent leaders. Race has succeeded race in dominion, and what Cyrus did with his Persians and Charlemagne with his Franks, Baber began and Akber completed with a few Tartars their personal followers. The Moghuls had even a less firm hold of empire than the Achæmenides or the Carlovingians; the devoted clansmen of Baber were not numerous, his son was driven from his throne, and Akber became the master of India as much by political sagacity, and the generous sympathy of his nature, as by military enterprize and the courage of his partizans. He perceived the want of the times, and his commanding genius enabled him to reconcile the conflicting interests and prejudices of Mehometans and Hindoos, of Rajpoots, Toorks, and Puthans. At the end of fifty years he left his heir a broad and well regulated dominion; yet one son of Jehangheer contested the empire with his father, and Shah Jehan first saw his

children waging war with one another for the possession of the crown which he himself still wore, and at length became the prisoner of the ablest and most successful of the combatants. Aurungzeb ever feared the influence of his own example: his temper was cold; his policy towards Mahometans was one of suspicion, while his bigotry and persecutions rendered him hateful to his Hindoo subjects. In his old age his wearied spirit could find no solace; no tribe of brave and confiding men gathered round him: yet his vigorous intellect kept *him* an emperor to the last, and the hollowness of his away was not apparent to the careless observer until he was laid in his grave. The empire of the Moghuls wanted political fusion, and its fair degree of administrative order and subordination was vitiated by the doubt which hung about the succession. * It comprised a number of petty states which rendered an unwilling obedience to the sovereign power; it was also studded over with feudal retainers, and all these hereditary princes and mercenary "Jagheerdars" were ever ready to resist, or to pervert, the measures of the central government. They considered then, as they do now, that a monarch exercised sway for his own interests only, without reference to the general welfare of the country; no public opinion of an intelligent people

* Notwithstanding this defect, the English themselves have yet to do much before they can establish a system which shall last so long and work so well as Akber's organization of Pergunnah Chowdhrees and Qanoongoes, who may be likened to hereditary county sheriffs, and registers of landed property and holdings. The objectionable hereditary law was modified in practice by the adoption of the most able or the most upright as the representative of the family.

systematically governed controlled them, and applause always awaited the successful aspirant to power. Akber did something to remove this antagonism between the rulers and the ruled, but his successors were less wise than himself, and religious discontent was soon added to the love of political independence. The southern portions of India, too, were at this time recent conquests, and Aurungzeb had been long absent, hopelessly endeavoring to consolidate his sway in that distant quarter. The Himalayas had scarcely been penetrated by the Moghuls, except in the direction of Cashmeer, and rebellion might rear its head almost unheeded amid their wild recesses. Lastly, during this period, Sevajee had roused the slumbering spirit of the Mahratta tribes. He had converted rude herdsmen into successful soldiers, and had become a territorial chief in the very neighbourhood of the emperor. Govind added religious fervor to warlike temper, and his design of founding a kingdom of Juts upon the waning glories of Aurungzeb's dominion, does not appear to have been idly conceived or rashly undertaken.

Yet it is not easy to place the actions of Govind in due order, or to understand the particular object of each of his proceedings. He is stated by a credible Mahometan author to have organized his followers into troops and bands, and to have placed them under the command of trustworthy disciples.* He appears to have entertained a body of Puthans, who are everywhere the soldiers of fortune, † and it is certain that he

* Seir ool Mutakhereen, i. 113.

† The Mahratta histories show that Sevajee likewise hired bands

established two or three forts along the skirts of the hills between the Sutlej and Jumna. He had a post at Pownta in the Keerada vale near Nahun, a place long afterwards the scene of a severe struggle between the Goorkhas and the English. He had likewise a retreat at Anundpoor-Makhowal, which had been established by his father,* and a third at Chumkowr, fairly in the plains and lower down the Sutlej, then the chosen hunt of Tegh Buhadur. He had thus got strongholds which secured him against any attempts of his hill neighbours, and he would next seem to have endeavored to mix himself up with the affairs of these half independent chiefs, and to obtain a commanding influence over them, so as by degrees to establish a virtual principality amid mountain fastnesses to serve as the basis of his operations against the Moghul government. As a religious teacher he drew contributions and procured followers from all parts of India, but as a leader he perceived the necessity of military pivot, and as a rebel he was not insensible to the value of a secure retreat.

Govind has himself described the several actions in which he was engaged, either as a principal or as an ally.† His pictures are animated; they are of some

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of Puthans, who had lost service in the declining kingdom of Bejapoor (Grant Duff, *Hist. of the Mahrattas*, i. 105)

* Anundpoor is situated close to Makhowal. The first name was given by Govind to his own particular residence at Makhowal, as distinguished from the abode of his father, and it signified the place of happiness. A knoll, with a seat upon it, is here pointed out, whence it is said Govind was wont to discharge an arrow a coss and a quarter—about a mile and two-thirds English, the Punjabee coss being small.

† Namely, in the Vichitr Natuk, already quoted as a portion

value as historical records, and their sequence seems more probable than that of any other narrative. His first contest was with his old friend the chief of Nahun, aided by the Raja of Hindoor, to whom he had given offence, and by the mercenary Puthans in his own service, who claimed arrears of pay, and who may have hoped to satisfy all demands by the destruction of Govind and the plunder of his establishments. But the Gooroo was victorious, some of the Puthan leaders fell, and Govind slew the young warrior, Hurree Chund of Nalagurh, with his own hand. Tha Gooroo nevertheless deemed it prudent to move to the Sutlej; he strengthened Anundpoor, and became the ally of Bheem Chund of Kuhloor, who was in resistance to the imperial authorities of Kot Kanggra. The Mahometan commander was joined by various hill chiefs, but in the end he was routed, and Bheem Chund's rebellion seemed justified by success. A period of rest ensued, during which, says Govind, he punished such of his followers as were lukewarm or disorderly. But the aid which he rendered to the chief of Kuhloor was not forgotten, and a body of Mahometan troops made an unsuccessful attack upon his position. Again an imperial commander took the field, partly to coerce Govind, and partly to reduce the hill rajas, who, profiting by the example of Bheem Chund, had refused to pay their usual

of the Second Grunt'h. The "Guroo Bilas," by Sookha Singh, corroborates Govind's account, and adds many details. Malcolm (*Sketch*, p 58. &c.), may be referred to for translations of some portions of the Vichitr Natuk bearing on the period, but Malcolm's own general narrative of the events is obviously contradictory and inaccurate.

tribute. A desultory warfare ensued; some attempts at accommodation were made by the hill chiefs, but these were broken off, and the expedition ended in the route of the Mahometans.

The success of Govind, for all was attributed to him, caused the Mahometans some anxiety, and his designs appear likewise to have alarmed the hill chiefs, for they loudly claimed the imperial aid against one who announced himself as the True King. Aurungzeb directed the governors of Lahore and Sirhind to march against the Gooroo, and it was rumored that the emperor's son, Buhadur Shah, would himself take the field in their support.* Govind was surrounded at Anundpoor by the forces of the empire. His own resolution was equal to any emergency, but numbers of his followers deserted him. He cursed them in this world and in the world to come and others who wavered, he caused to renounce their faith, and then dismissed them with ignominy. But his difficulties increased, desertions continued to take place, and at last he found himself at the head of no more than forty devoted followers. His mother, his wives, and his two

* Malcolm (*Sketch*, p. 60, note) says, that this allusion would place the warfare in 1701 A. D., as Buhadur Shah was at that time sent from the Deccan towards Caubul. Some Sikh traditions, indeed, represent Govind as having gained the good will of, or as they put it, as having shown favour to, Buhadur Shah; and Govind himself, in the Vichitr Natuk, says that a son of the emperor came to suppress the disturbances, but no name is given. Neither does Mr. Elphinstone (*History*, ii. 545) specify Buhadur Shah; and, indeed, he merely seems to conjecture that a prince of the blood, who was sent to put down disturbances near Mooltan, was really employed against the Sikhs near Sirhind.

youngest children effected their escape to Sirhind, but the boys were there betrayed to the Mahometans, and put to death.* The faithful forty said they were ready to die with their priest and king, and they prayed him to recall his curse upon their weaker hearted brethren, and to restore to them the hope of salvation. Govind said that his wrath would not endure. But he still clung to temporal success ; the fort of Chumkowr remained in his possession, and he fled during the night and reached the place in safety.

At Chumkowr Govind was again besieged.* He was called upon to surrender his person and to renounce his faith, but Ajeet Singh, his son, indignantly silenced the bearer of the message. The troops pressed upon the Sikhs ; the Gooroo was himself every where present, but his two surviving sons fell before his eyes, and his little band was nearly destroyed. He at last resolved upon escape, and taking advantage of a dark night, he threaded his way to the outskirts of the camp, but there he was recognized and stopped by two Puthans. These men, it is said, had in former times received kindness at the hands of the Gooroo, and they now assisted him ing reaching the town of Behlolpoor, where he trusted

* The most detailed account of this murder of Govind's children, is given in *Browne's India Tracts*, ii 6, 7.

* At Chamkowr, in one of the towers of the small brick fort, is still shown the tomb of a distinguished warrior, a Sikh of the Sweeper caste, named Jeewun Singh, who fell during the siege. The bastion itself is known as that of the Martyr. A temple now stands where Ajeet Singh and Joojarh Singh, the eldest sons of Govind, are reputed to have fallen.

Govind's defeat and flight are placed by the Sikhs in 1705, 1706 A. D.

his person to a third follower of Islam, one Peer Mahomed, with whom it is further said the Gooroo had once studied the Koran. Here he ate food from Mahometans, and declared that such might be done by Sikhs under pressing circumstances. He further disguised himself in the blue dress of a Mussulman Dervish, and speedily reached the wastes of Bhutinda. His disciples again rallied round him, and he succeeded in repulsing his pursuers at a place since called "Mookutsur," or the Pool of Salvation. He continued his flight to Dumdumma, or the Breathing Place, half way between Hansee and Feerozpoor; the imperial authorities thought his strength sufficiently broken, and they did not follow him further into a parched and barren country.

At Dumdumma Govind remained for some time, and he occupied himself in composing the supplemental Grunt'h, the Book of the Tenth King, to rouse the energies and sustain the hopes of the faithful. This comprises the Vichitr Natuk, or "Wondrous Tale," the only historical portion of either Grunt'h, and which he concludes by a hymn in praise of God, who had ever assisted him. He would, he says, make known in another book the things, which he had himself accomplished, the glories of the Lord which he had witnessed and his recollections or visions of his antecedent existence. All he had done, he said, had been done with the aid of the Almighty; and to "Loh," or the mysterious virtue of iron, he attributed his preservation. While thus living in retirement, messengers arrived to summon him to the emperor's presence; but Govind replied to Aurungzeb in a series of parables admonitory

of kings, partly in which, and partly in a letter which accompanied them, he remonstrates rather than humbles himself. He denounces the wrath of God upon the monarch, rather than deprecates the imperial anger against himself; he tells the emperor that he puts no trust in him, and that the "Khalsa" will yet avenge him. He refers to Nanuk's religious form, and he briefly alludes to the death of Arjoon and of Tegh Buhadur. He describes his own wrongs and his childless condition. He was as one without earthly link, patiently awaiting death, and fearing none but the sole Emperor, the King of Kings. Nor, said he, are the prayers of the poor ineffectual; and on the day of reckoning it would be seen how the emperor would justify his manifold cruelties and oppressions. The Gooroo was again desired to repair to Aurungzeb's presence, and he really appears to have proceeded to the south some time before the aged monarch was removed by death.*

Aurungzeb died in the beginning of 1707, and his eldest son, Buhadur Shah, hastened from Caubul to secure the succession. He vanquished and slew one brother near Agrah, and, marching to the south, he defeated a second, Kambukhsh, who died of his wounds. While engaged in this last campaign, Buhadur Shah summoned Govind to his camp. The Gooroo went; he was treated with respect and he received a military

* In this narrative of Govind's warlike actions, reference has been mainly had to the Vichitr Natuk of the Gooroo Bilas of Sookha Singh, and to the ordinary modern compilations in Persian and Goormookhee; transcripts, imperfect apparently, of some of which latter have been put into English by Dr. Macgregor. *History of the Sikhs*, pp. 79-99.)

command in the valley of the Godavery. The emperor perhaps thought that the leader of insurrectionary Juts might be usefully employed in opposing rebellious Mahrattahs, and Govind perhaps saw in the imperial service a ready way of disarming suspicion and of reorganizing his followers.* At Dumdumma he had again denounced evil upon all who should thenceforward desert him; in the south he selected the daring Bunda as an instrument and the Sikhs speedily reappeared in overwhelming force upon the banks of the Sutlej. But Govind's race was run, and he was not himself fated to achieve aught more in person. He had engaged the services of an Afghan, half adventurer, half merchant, and he had procured from him a considerable number of horses. The merchant, or servant, pleaded his own necessities, and urged the payment of large sums due to him.

* The Sikh writers seem unanimous in giving to their great teacher a military command in the Deccan, while some recent Mahometan compilers assert that he died at Patna. But the liberal conduct of Buhadur Shah is confirmed by the contemporary historian, Khafee Khan, who states that he received rank in the Moghul army (see Elphinstone, *History of India*, ii. 566, note), and it is in a degree corroborated by the undoubted fact of the Gooroo's death, on the banks of the Godavery. The traditions preserved at Nuderh, give Kartik, 1765 (Sumbut), or towards the end of 1703 A.D., as the date of Govind's arrival at that place.

† It would be curious to trace how far India was colonised in the intervals of great invasions by petty Afghan and Toorkmun leaders, who defrayed their first or occasional expenses by the sale of horses. Tradition represents that both the destroyer of Manikyala in the Punjab, and the founder of Bhutneer in Hurreeana, were emigrants so circumstanced; and Ameer Khan, the recent Indian adventurer, was similarly reduced to sell his steeds for food. (*Memoirs of Ameer Khan*, p. 16.)

Impatient with delays he used an angry gesture, and his mutterings of violence provoked Govind to strike him dead. The body of the slain Puthan was removed: and buried, and his family seemed reconciled to the fate of its head. But his sons nursed their revenge, and awaited an opportunity of fulfilling it. They succeeded in stealing upon the Gooroo's retirement, and stabbed him mortally when asleep or unguarded. Govind sprang up and the assassins were seized; but a sardonic smile played upon their features, and they justified their act of retribution. The Gooroo heard, he remembered the fate of their father, and he perhaps called to mind his own unavenged parent. He said to the youths that they had done well, and he directed that they should be released uninjured. * The expiring Gooroo was childless, and the assembled disciples asked in sorrow who should inspire them with truth and lead them to victory when he was no more. Govind bade them be of good cheer; the appointed Ten had indeed fulfilled their mission, but he was about to deliver the Khalsa to God, the never-dying. "He who wishes to behold the Gooroo, let him search the Grunt'h of Nanuk.

*All the common accounts narrate the death of Govind as given in the text, but with slight differences of detail, while some add that the widow of the slain Puthan continually urged her sons to seek revenge. Many accounts, and especially those by Mahometans, likewise represent Govind to have become deranged in his mind, and a story told by some Sikh writers gives a decree of countenance to such a belief. They say that the heart of the Gooroo inclined towards the youths whose father he had slain, that he was wont to play simple games of skill with them, and that he took opportunities of inculcating upon them the merit of revenge, as if he was himself weary of life, and wished to fall by

The Gooroo will dwell with the Khalsa; be firm and be faithful : wherever five Sikhs are gathered together there will I also be present."*

Govind was killed on 1708, at Nuderh, on the banks of the Godavery. † He was in his forty-eighth year, and if it be thought by any that his obscure end belied

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their hands. The Seir ool Mutakhereen (i. 114.) simply says that Govind died of grief on account of the loss of his children. (Compare Malcolm, *Sketch*, p. 70. &c., and Elphinstone, *History*, ii. 564.) The accounts now furnished by the priests of the temple at Nuderh, represent the *one* assassin of the Gooroo to have been the grandson of the Payenda Khan, slain by Hur Govind, and they do not give him any further cause of quarrel with Govind himself.

* Such is the usual account given of the Gooroo's dying injunctions; and the belief that Govind consummated the mission or dispensation of Nanuk, seems to have been agreeable to the feelings of the times, while it now forms a main article of faith. The mother, and one wife of Govind, are represented to have survived him some years; but each, when dying, declared the Gooroosbip to rest in the general body of the Khalsa, and not in any one mortal; and hence the Sikhs do not give such a designation even to the most revered of their holy men, their highest religious title being "Bhaee," literally "brother," but corresponding in significance with the English term "elder."

† Govind is stated to have been born in the month of "Poh," 1718 Sumbut, which may be the end of 1661, or beginning of 1662 A. D. and all accounts agree in placing his death about the middle of 1765 Sumbut, or towards the end of 1708 A. D.

At Nuderh there is a large religious establishment, partly supported by the produce of landed estates, partly by voluntary contributions, and partly by sums levied annually, agreeably to the mode organised by Arjoon The principal of the establishment dispatches a person to show his requisition to the faithful, and all give according to their means Thus the common horsemen in the

the promise of his whole life, it should be remembered that—

> "The hand of man
> Is but a tardy servant of the brain,
> And follows, with its leaden diligence,
> The fiery steps of fancy,"*

that when Mahomet was a fugitive from Mecca, "the lance of an Arab might have changed the history of the world;" † and that the Achilles of poetry, the reflection of truth, left Troy untaken. The lord of the Myrmidons, destined to a short life and immortal glory, met an end almost as base as that which he dreaded when struggling with Simois and Scamander; and the heroic Richard, of eastern and western fame, whose whole soul was bent upon the deliverance of Jerusalem, veiled his face in shame and sorrow that God's holy city should be left in the possession of infidels: he would not behold that which he could not redeem, and he descended from the Mount to retire to captivity and a premature grave. ‡ Success is thus not always the

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employ of Bhopal give a rupee and a quarter each a year, besides offerings on occasions of pilgrimage.

Runjeet Singh sent considerable sums to Nuderh, but the buildings commenced with the means which he provided have not been completed.

Nuderh is also called Upchullanuggur, and in Southern and Central India it is termed pre-eminently "the Goordwara," that is, "the house of the Gooroo."

* Sir Marmaduke Maxwell, a dramatic poem, act iv. scene 6.

† Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ix. 285.

‡ For this story of the lion-like king, see Gibbon (*Decline and Fall*, xi. 143.) See also Turner's comparison of the characters of Achilles and Richard (*History of England*, p. 300), and Hallam's

measure of greatness. The last apostle of the Sikhs did not live to see his own ends accomplished, but he effectually roused the dormant energies of a vanquished people, and filled them with a lofty although fitful longing for social freedom and national ascendancy, the proper adjuncts of that purity of worship which had been preached by Nanuk. Govind saw what was yet vital, and he relumed it with Promethean fire. A living spirit possesses the whole Sikh people, and the impress of Govind has not only elevated and altered the constitution of their minds, but has operated materially and given amplitude to their physical frames. The features and external form of a whole people have been modified, and a Sikh chief is not more distinguishable by his stately person and free and manly bearing, than a minister of his faith is by a lofty thoughtfulness of look, which marks the fervour of his soul, and his persuasion of the near presence of the Divinity.* Notwithstanding these changes it has been

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assent to its superior justness relatively to his own parallel of the Cid and the English hero (*Middle Ages*, iii. 482).

* This physical change has been noticed by Sir Alex. Burnes (*Travels*, i. 285, and ii. 39), by Elphinstone, (*History of India*, ii. 564), and it also slightly struck Malcolm (*Sketch*, p. 129). Similarly a change of aspect, as well as of dress, &c., may be observed in the descendants of such members of Hindoo families as became Mahometans one or two centuries ago, and whose personal appearance may yet be readily compared with that of their undoubted Brahminical cousins in many parts of Malwa and Upper India. That Prichard (*Physical History of Mankind*, i. 183, and i. 191,) notices no such change in the features, although he does in the characters, of the Hottentots and Esquimaux who have been converted to Christianity, may either show that the attention of our

usual to regard the Sikhs as essentially Hindoo, and they doubtless are so in language and every-day customs, for Govind did not fetter his disciples with political systems or codes of municipal laws; yet, in religious faith and worldly aspirations, they are wholly different from other Indians, and they are bound together by a community of inward sentiment and of outward object unknown elsewhere. But the misapprehension need not surprise the public nor condemn our scholars *, when it is remembered that the learned of Greece and Rome misunderstood the spirit of those humble men who obtained a new life by baptism. Tacitus and Suetonius regarded the early Christians as a mere Jewish sect, they failed to perceive the fundamental difference, and to appreciate the latent energy and real excellence, of that doctrine, which has added dignity and purity to modern civilization.†

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observers and inquirers has not been directed to the subject, or that the savages in question have embraced a new faith with little of living ardor and absorbing enthusiasm.

* The author alludes chiefly to Professor H. H Wilson, whose learning and industry is doing so much for Indian History. (See *Asiatic Researches*, xvii. 237, 238, and *Continuation of Mill's History*, vii. 101, 102.) Malcolm holds similar views in one place (*Sketch*, p. 144, 148, 150), but somewhat contradicts himself in another. (*Sketch*, p. 43.) With these opinions, however, may be compared the more correct views of Elphinstone (*History of India*, ii. 562, 564), and Sir Alex. Burnes (*Travels*, i. 284, 28), and also Major Browne's observation (*India Tracts*, ii. 4), that the Sikh doctrine bore the same relation to the Hindoo, as the Protestant does to the Romish.

† See the *Annals of Tacitus*, *Murphy's Translation* (book xv. sect. 44 note 15) Tacitus calls Christianity a dangerous super-

Bundá, the chosen disciple of Govind, was a native of the south of India, and an ascetic of the Byraghee order;* and the extent of the deceased Gooroo's preparations and means will be best understood from the narrative of the career of his followers, when his own commanding spirit was no more. The Sikhs gathered

stition, and regards its professors as moved by "a sullen hatred of the whole human race"—the Judaic characteristic of the period. Suetonius talks of the *Jews* raising disturbances in the reign of Claudius, at the instigation of "one Chrestus," thus evidently mistaking the whole of the facts, and further making a Latin name, genuine indeed, but misapplied, of the Greek term for anointed.

Again, the obscure historian, Vopiscus, preserves a letter, written by the Emperor Hadrian, in which, the Christians are confounded with the adorers of Serapis, and in which the *Bishops* are said to be especially devoted to the worship of that strange god, who was introduced into Egypt by the Ptolemies (Waddington, *History of the Church*, p. 37.); and even Eusebius himself did not properly distinguish between Christians and the Essenic Therapeutæ (Strauss, *Life of Jesus*, i. 294), although the latter formed essentially a mere sect, or order, affecting asceticism and mystery.

It is proper to add that Mr. Newman quotes the descriptions of Tacitus and others as referring really to Christians and not to Jews (*On the Development of Christian Doctrine*, p. 205, &c.) He may be right, but the grounds of his dissent from the views of preceding scholars are not given.

* Some accounts represent Bunda to have been a native of Northern India, and the writer, followed by Major Browne (*India Tracts*, ii. 9), says he was born in the Jalundhur Dooab.

"Bunda" signifies *the slave*, and Suroop Chund the author of the Goor Rutnaolee, states that the Byraghee took the name or title when he met Govind in the south, and found that the powers of his tutelary god Vishnoo, were ineffectual in the presence of the Gooroo. Thenceforward, he said, he would be the slave of Govind.

in numbers round Bunda when he reached the north-west, bearing with him the arrows of Govind as the pledge of victory. Bunda put to flight the Moghul authorities in the neighbourhood of Sirhind, and then attacked, defeated, and slew the governor of the province. Sirhind was plundered, and the Hindoo betrayer and Mussulman destroyer of Govind's children, were themselves put to death by the avenging Sikhs.* Bunda next established a stronghold below the hills of Sirmoor,† he occupied the country between the Sutlej and Jumna, and he laid waste the district of Seharunpur.‡

Buhadur Shah, the emperor, had subdued his rebellious brother Kambukhsh, he had come to terms with the Mahrattas, and he was desirous of reducing the princes of Rajpootana to their old dependence, when he heard of the defeat of his troops and the sack of his city by the hitherto unknown Bunda. § He hastened towards the Punjab, and he did not pause to enter his

* For several particulars, true or fanciful, relating to the capture of Sirhind, see Browne, *India Tracts*, ii. 9, 10. See also Elphinstone, *History of India*, ii. 565, 566. Vuzeer Khan was clearly the name of the governor, and not Fouzdar Khan, as mentioned by Malcolm (*Sketch*, p. 77, 78). Vuzeer Khan was indeed the "Fouzdar," or military commander in the province, and the word is as often used as a proper name as to denote an office.

† This was at Mookhlispoor, near Sadowra, which lies N. E. from Ambala, and it appears to be the "Lohgurh," that is, the iron or strong fort, of the Seir ool Mutakhereen (i. 115).

‡ Forster, *Travels*, i. 304.

§ Compare Elphinstone, *History of India*, ii. 561, and Forster, *Travels*, i. 304. This was in 1709-10 A. D.

capital after his southern successes; but in the mean-time his generals had defeated a body of Sikhs near Paneeput, and Bunda was surrounded in his new stronghold. A zealous convert, disguised like his leader, allowed himself to be captured during a sally of the besieged, and Bunda withdrew with all his followers.* After some successful skirmishes he established himself near Jummoo in the hills north of Lahore, and laid the fairest part of the Punjab under contribution. Buhadur Shah had by this time advanced to Lahore in person, and he died there in the month of February 1712.†

The death of the emperor brought on another contest for the throne. His eldest son, Jehandar Shah, retained power for a year, but in February 1713 he was defeated and put to death by his nephew Ferokhseer. These commotions were favorable to the Sikhs; they again became united and formidable, and they built for themselves a considerable fort, named Goordaspoor, between the Beeas and Ravee.‡ The Viceroy of Lahore marched against Bunda, but he was defeated in a pitched battle, and the Sikhs sent forward a party towards Sirhind, the governor of which, Bayezeed Khan,

* Compare Elphinstone, *History*, ii. 566, and Forster, *Travels*, i. 305. The zeal of the devotee was applauded without being pardoned by the emperor.

† Compare the *Seir ool Mutakhereen*, i. 109, 112.

‡ Goordaspoor is near Kullanowr, where Akber was saluted as emperor, and it appears to be the Lohgurh of the ordinary accounts followed by Forster, Malcolm, and others. It now contains a monastery of Sirsoot Brahmins, who have adopted many of the Sikh modes and tenets.

advanced to oppose them. A fanatic crept under his tent and mortally wounded him ; the Mahometans dispersed, but the city does not seem to have fallen a second time a prey to the exulting Sikhs.* The emperor now ordered Abdool Summud Khan, the governor of Cashmeer, a Tooranee noble and a skilful general, to assume the command in the Punjab, and he sent to his aid some chosen troops from the eastward. Abdool Summud Khan brought with him some thousands of his own warlike countrymen, and as soon as he was in possession of a train of artillery he left Lahore, and, falling upon the Sikh army, he defeated it, after a fierce resistance on the part of Bunda. The success was followed up, and Bunda retreated from post to post, fighting valiantly and inflicting heavy losses on his victors ; but he was at length compelled to shelter himself in the fort of Goordaspoor. He was closely besieged ; nothing could be conveyed to him from without ; and after consuming all his provisions, and eating horses, asses, and even the forbidden ox, he was reduced to submit.† Some of the Sikhs were put to death, and their heads were borne on pikes before

* Some accounts nevertheless represent Bunda to have again possessed himself of Sirhind.

† Compare Malcolm, *Sketch*, p. 79, 80., Forster, *Travels*, i. 306, and note, and the *Seirool Mutakhereen*, i. 116, 117. The ordinary accounts make the Sikh army amount to 35,000 men (Forster says 20,000) ; they also detain Abdool Summud a year at Lahore before he undertook anything, and they bring down all the hill chiefs to his aid, both of which circumstances are probable enough.

Bunda and others as they were marched to Delhi with all the signs of ignominy usual with bigots, and common among barbarous or half civilized conquerors.* A hundred Sikhs were put to death daily, contending among themselves for priority of martyrdom, and on the eighth day Bunda himself was arraigned before his judges. A Mahometan noble asked the ascetic from conviction, how one of his knowledge and understanding could commit crimes which would dash him into hell; but Bunda answered that he had been as a mere scourge in the hands of God for the chastisement of the wicked, and that he was now receiving the need of his own crimes against the Almighty. His son was placed upon his knees,—a knife was put into his hands, and he was required to take the life of his child. He did so, silent and unmoved; his own flesh was then torn with red-hot pincers, and amid these torments he expired, his dark soul, say the Mahometans, winging its way to the regions of the damned.†

The memory of Bunda is not held in much esteem

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* Seir ool Mutakhereen, i. 118, 120, Elphinstone (*History*, ii. 574, 575.), quoting the contemporary Khafee Khan, says the prisoners amounted to 740. The Seir ool Mutakhereen relates how the old mother of Bayezeed Khan killed the assassin of her son, by letting fall a stone on his head, as he and the other prisoners were being led through the streets of Lahore.

† Malcolm (*Sketch*, p. 82), who quotes the Seir ool Mutakhereen. The defeat and death of Bunda are placed by the Seir ool Mutakhereen (i. 109), by Orme (*History*, ii. 22), and apparently by Elphinstone (*History*, ii. 564), in the year 1716 A. D.; but Forster (*Travels*, i. 306, note) has the date 1714.

by the Sikhs ; he appears to have been of a gloomy disposition, and he was obeyed as an energetic and daring leader, without being able to engage the personal sympathies of his followers. He did not perhaps comprehend the general nature of Nanuk's and Govind's reforms ; the spirit of sectarianism possessed him, and he endeavored to introduce changes into the modes and practices enjoined by these teachers, which should be more in accordance with his own ascetic and Hindoo notions. These unwise innovations and restrictions were resisted by the more zealous Sikhs, and they may have caused the memory of an able and enterprizing leader to be generally neglected.*

After the death of Bunda an active persecution was kept up against the Sikhs, whose losses in battle had been great and depressing. All who could be seized had to suffer death, or to renounce their faith. A price, indeed, was put upon their heads, and so vigorously were the measures of prudence, or of vengeance, followed up, that many conformed to Hindooism ; others abandoned the outward signs of their

* Compare Malcolm, *Sketch*, p. 83, 84. But Bunda is sometimes styled Gooroo by Indians, as in the Seir ool Mutakhereen (i. 114), and there is still an order of half-conformist Sikhs which regards him as its founder. Bunda, it is reported, wished to establish a sect of his own, saving that of Govind could not endure; and he is further declared to have wished to change the exclamation or salutation, "Wah Gooroo ke Futteh !" which had been used or ordained by Govind, into "Futteh Dhurrum !" and "Futteh Dursun !" (Victory to faith ! Victory to the sect !) Compare Malcolm, *Sketch*, p. 83, 84.

belief, and the more sincere had to seek a refuge among the recesses of the hills, or in the woods to the south of the Sutlej. The Sikhs were scarcely again heard of in history for the period of a generation. †

Thus, at the end of two centuries, had the Sikh faith become established as a prevailing sentiment and guiding principle to work its way in the world. Nanuk disengaged his little society of worshippers from Hindoo idolatory and Mahometan superstition, and placed them free on a broad basis of religious and moral purity; Ummer Das preserved the infant community from declining into a sect of quietists or ascetics; Arjoon gave his increasing followers a written rule of conduct and a civil organization; Hur Govind added the use of arms and a military system; and Govind Singh bestowed upon them a distinct political existence, and inspired them with the desire of being socially free and nationally independent. No further legislation was required; a firm persuasion had been elaborated, and a vague feeling had acquired consistence as an active principle. The operation of this faith become a fact, is only now in progress, and the fruit it may yet bear cannot be foreseen. Sikhism arose where fallen and corrupt Brahminical doctrines were most strongly acted on by the vital and spreading Mahometan belief. It has now come into contact with the civilization and Christianity of

† Compare Forster (*Travels*, i. 312, 313), and Browne (*India Tracts*, ii. 13), and also Malcolm (*Sketch*, p. 85, 86.).

Europe, and the result can only be known to a distant posterity.*

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* There are also elements of change within Sikhism itself, and dissent is everywhere a source of weakness and decay, although sometimes it denotes a temporary increase of strength and energy. Sikh sects, at least of quietists, are already numerous, although the great development of the tenets of Gooroo Govind has thrown other denominations into the shade. Thus the prominent division into "Khulasa," meaning of Nanuk, and "Khalsa," meaning of Govind, which is noticed by Forster (*Travels*, i. 309), is no longer in force. The former term, Khulasa, is almost indeed unknown in the present day, while all claim membership with the Khalsa. Nevertheless, the peaceful Sikhs of the first teacher are still to be everywhere met with in the cities of India, although the warlike Singhs of the tenth king have become predominant in the Punjab, and have scattered themselves as soldiers from Caubul to the south of India.

Note.—The reader is referred to Appendices I., II., III. and IV. for some account of the Grunt'hs of the Sikhs, for some illustrations of principles and practices taken from the writings of the Gooroos, and for abstracts of certain letters attributed to Nanuk and Govind, and which are descriptive of some views and modes of the Sikh people. Appendix V. may also be referred to for a list of some Sikh sects or denominations.

CHAPTER IV.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF SIKH INDEPENDENCE.

1716—1764.

Decline of the Moghul Empire.—Gradual reappearance of the Sikhs.—The Sikhs coerced by Meer Munnoo, and persecuted by Tymoor the son of Ahmed Shah.—The Army of the "Khalsa" and the State of the "Khalsa" proclaimed to be substantive Powers.—Adeena Beg Khan and the Mahrattas under Ragoba.—Ahmed Shah's incursions and victories.—The provinces of Sirhind and Lahore possessed in sovereignty by the Sikhs.—The political organization of the Sikhs as a feudal confederacy.—The Order of Akalees.

AURUNGZEB was the last of the race of Tymoor who possessed a genius for command, and in governing a large empire of incoherent parts and conflicting principles, his weak successors had to lean upon the doubtful loyalty of selfish and jealous ministers, and to prolong a nominal rule by opposing insurrectionary subjects to rebellious dependents. Within a generation Mahometan adventurers had established separate dominations in Bengal, Lucknow, and Hyderabad; the Mahratta Peshwah had startled the Moslems of India by suddenly appearing in arms before the imperial

city,* and the stern usurping Nadir had scornfully hailed the long descended Mahomed Shah as a brother Toork in the heart of his blood-stained capital.† The Afghan colonists of Rohilkhund and the Hindoo Jats of Bhurtpoor, had raised themselves to importance as substantive powers, ‡ and when the Persian conqueror departed with the spoils of Delhi, the government was weaker, and society was more disorganized, than when the fugitive Baber entered India in search of a throne worthy of his lineage and his personal merits.

These commotions were favorable to the reappearance of a depressed sect; but the delegated rule of Abdool Summud in Lahore was vigorous, and, both under him and his weaker successor,§ the Sikhs comported themselves as peaceful subjects in their villages, or lurked in woods and valleys to obtain a precarious livelihood as robbers.|| The tenets of Nanuk and Govind had nevertheless taken root in the hearts of the people;

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* This was in 1737 A. D., when Bajee Rao, the Peshwah, made an incursion from Agra towards Delhi. (See Elphinstone, *History*, ii. 609, and *Grant Duff's History of the Mahrattas*, i. 533, 534.)

† See Nadir Shah's letter to his son, relating his successful invasion of India. (*Asiatic Researches*, x. 545, 546.)

‡ A valuable account of the Rohillas may be found in *Forster's Travels* (i. 115 &c.), and the public is indebted to the Oriental Translation Committe of London for the memoirs of Hafin Rehmut Khan, one of the most eminent of their leaders.

The Jats of Bhurtpoor and Dholpoor, and of Hattras and other minor places, deserve a separate history.

§ He was likewise the son of the conqueror of Bunda. His name was Zakareea Khan, and his title Khan Buhadur.

|| Compare *Forster's Travels*, i. 313, and *Browne's India Tracts*, ii. 13.

the peasant and the mechanic nursed their faith in secret, and the more ardent clung to the hope of ample revenge and speedy victory. The departed Gooroo had declared himself the last of the prophets; the believers were without a temporal guide, and rude untutored men, accustomed to defer to their teacher as divine, were left to work their way to greatness, without an ordained method, and without any other bond of union than the sincerity of their common faith. The progress of the new religion, and the ascendancy of its votaries, had thus been trusted to the pregnancy of the truths announced, and to the fitness of the Indian mind for their reception. The general acknowledgment of the most simple and comprehensive principle is sometimes uncertain and is usually slow and irregular, and this fact should be held in view in considering the history of the Sikhs from the death of Govind to the present time.

During the invasion of Nadir Shah, the Sikhs collected in small bands, and plundered both the stragglers of the Persian army and the wealthy inhabitants who fled towards the hills on the first appearance of the conqueror, or when the massacre at Delhi became generally known.* The impunity which attended these efforts encouraged them to bolder attempts, and they

* Browne, *India Tracts*, ii. 13, 14. Nadir acquired from the Moghul emperor the provinces of Sindh and Caubul, and four districts of the province of Lahore, lying near the Jehlum river.

Zukareea Khan, son of Abdool Summud, was Viceroy of Lahore at the time.

The defeat of the Dehli sovereign, and Nadir's entry into the capital, took place on the 13th February and early in March, 1739

began to visit Amritsir openly instead of in secrecy and disguise. The Sikh horseman, says a Mahometan author, might be seen riding at full gallop to pay his devotions at that holy shrine. Some might be slain, and some might be captured, but none were ever known to adjure their creed when thus taken on their way to that sacred place.* Some Sikhs next succeeded in establishing a small fort at Dullehwal on the Ravee, and they were unknown or disregarded, until considerable numbers assembled and proceeded to levy contributions around Eminabad, which lies to the north of Lahore. The marauders were attacked, but the detachment of troops was repulsed and its leader slain. A larger force pursued and defeated them; many prisoners were brought to Lahore, and the scene of their execution is now known as "Shuheed Gunj," or the place of martyrs.† It is further marked by the tomb of Bhaee Taroo Singh, who was required to cut his hair and to renounce his faith; but the old companion of Gooroo Govind would yield neither his conscience nor the symbol of his conviction, and his real or protended answer is preserved to the present

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respectively, but were not known in London until the 1st of October, so slow were communications, and of so little importance was Dehli to Englishmen, three generations ago. (*Wade's Chronological British History*, p. 417.)

* The auther is quoted, but not named by Malcolm, *Sketch*, p. 88.

† Compare Browne, *India Tracts*, ii. 13.; Malcolm *Sketch*, p. 86; and *Murray's Runjeet Singh* by Prinsep, p. 4. Yehya Khan, the elder son of Zukareea Khan, was governor of the Punjab at the time.

day. The hair, the scalp, and the skull, said he, have a mutual connection; the head of man is linked with life, and *he* was prepared to yield his breath with cheerfulness.

The viceroyalty of Lahore was about this time contested between the two sons of Zukareea Khan, the successor of Abdool Summud, who defeated Bunda. The younger, Shah Nuwaz Khan, displaced the elder, and to strengthen himself in his usurpation, he opened a correspondence with Ahmed Shah Abdalee, who became master of Afghanistan on the assassination of Nadir Shah, in June 1747. The Dooranee King soon collected round his standard numbers of the hardy tribes of Central Asia, who delight in distant inroads and successful rapine. He necessarily looked to India as the most productive field of conquest or incursion, and he could cloak his ambition under the double pretext of the tendered allegiance of the governor of Lahore, and of the favorable reception at Delhi of *his* enemy, Nadir Shah's fugitive governor of Caubul.* Ahmed Shah crossed the Indus: but the usurping viceroy of Lahore had been taunted with his treason; generosity prevailed over policy, and he resolved upon opposing the advance of the Afghans. He was defeated, and the Abdalee became master of the Punjab. The Shah pursued his march to Sirhind, where he was

* Compare *Murray's Runjeet Singh*, by Prinsep, p. 9. and Browne, *India Tracts*, ii. Nassir Khan, the governor, hesitated about marrying his daughter to Ahmed Shah, one of another race, as well as about rendering obedience to him as sovereign. Compare, however, Elphinstone (*Account of Caubul*, ii. 285.), who makes no mention of these particulars.

met by the Vuzeer of the declining empire. Some desultory skirmishing, and one more decisive action took place, but the result of the whole was so unfavorable to the invader, that he precipitately recrossed the Punjab, and gave an opportunity to the watchful Sikhs of harassing his rear and of gaining confidence in their own prowess. The minister of Delhi was killed by a canon ball during the short campaign, but the gallantry and the services of his son, Meer Munnoo, had been conspicuous, and he became the Viceroy of Lahore and Mooltan, under the title of Moyen-ool-Moolk.*

The new governor was a man of vigor and ability, but his object was rather to advance his own interests than to serve the emperor; and in the administration of his provinces, he could trust to no feelings save those which he personally inspired. He judiciously retained the services of two experienced men, Kowra Mull and Adeena Beg Khan, the one as his immediate deputy, and the other as the manager of the Jalundhur Dooab. Both had dealt skilfully for the times with the insurrectionary Sikhs, who continued to press themselves more and more on the attention of their unloyal governors.† During the invasion of Ahmed Shah they had thrown up a fort close to Amritsir, called the Ram Rownee, and one of their most able leaders had arisen,

* Compare Elphinstone, *Caubul*, ii. 285, 286 and Murray's *Runjet Singh*, p. 6—8.

† Kowra Mull was himself a follower of Nanuk, without having adopted the tenets of Govind. (Forster, *Travels*, i. 314.) Adeena Beg Khan was appointed manager of the Jalundhur Dooab by Zukareea Khan, with orders to coerce the Sikhs after Nadir Sha's retirement. (Browne, *India Tracts*, ii. 14.)

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Jussa Singh Kullal, a brewer or distiller, who boldly proclaimed the birth of a new power in the state—the "Dul" of the "Khalsa," or army of the theocracy of "Singhs."* As soon as Meer Munnoo had established his authority, he marched against the insurgents, captured their fort, dispersed their troops, and took measures for the general preservation of good order.† His plans were interrupted by the rumored approach of a second Afghan invasion; he marched to the Chenab to repel the danger, and he despatched agents to the Dooranee camp to avert it by promises and concessions. Ahmed Shah's own rule was scarcely consolidated, he respected the ability of the youth who had checked him at Sirhind, and he retired across the Indus on the stipulation that the revenues of four fruitful districts should be paid to him as they had been paid to Nadir Shah, from whom he pretended to derive his title.‡

Meer Munnoo gained applause at Delhi for the

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* Compare Browne, *India Tracts*, ii. 16., who gives Chersa Singh, Toka Singh, and Kirwur Singh, as the confederates of Jussa Kullal.

† Both Kowra Mull and Adeena Beg, but especially the former, and the one from predilection, and the other from policy, are understood to have dissuaded Meer Munnoo from proceeding to extremities against the Sikhs. Compare Browne, *Tracts*, ii. 16., and Forster, *Travels*, i. 314, 315, 327, 328., which latter, however, justly observes, that Munnoo had objects in view of greater moment to himself than the suppression of an infant sect.

‡ The Afghans state that Meer Munnoo also became the Shah's tributary for the whole of the Punjab, and, doubtless, he *promised* any thing to get the invader away and to be left alone. (Compare Elphinstone, *Caubul*, ii. 286., and Murray, *Runjeet Singh*, p. 9, 10.)

success of his measures, but his ambition was justly dreaded by the Vuzeer Sufder Jung, who knew his own designs on Oude, and felt that the example would not be lost on the son of his predecessor. It was proposed to reduce his power by conferring the province of Mooltan on Shah Nuwaz Khan, whom Meer Munnoo himself had supplanted in Lahore;* but Munnoo had an accurate knowledge of the imperial power and of his own resources, and he sent his deputy, Kowra Mull, to resist the new governor. Shah Nuwaz Khan was defeated and slain, and the elated Viceroy conferred the title of Muharaja on his successful follower.† This virtual independence of Delhi, and the suppression of Sikh disturbances, emboldened Munnoo to persevere in his probably original design, and to withhold the promised tribute from Ahmed Shah. A pretence of demanding it was made, and the payment of all arrears was offered, but neither party felt that the other could be trusted, and the Afghan king marched towards Lahore. Munnoo made a show of meeting him on the frontier, but, finally he took up an entrenched position under the walls of the city. Had he remained on the defensive, the Abdalee might probably have been foiled, but, after a four months' beleaguer, he was tempted to risk an action. Kowra Mull was killed; Adeena Beg scarcely

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* Heiatoolla Khan, the younger son of Zukareea Khan, is stated in local Mooltan chronicles to have held that province when Nadir Shah entered Sindh, in 1739-40, to fairly settle and subdue it, and to have then tendered his allegiance to the Persian conqueror, from whom he received the title of Shah Nuwaz Khan.

† Compare Murray's *Runjeet Singh*, p. 10.

exerted himself; Munnoo saw that a prolonged contest would be ruinous, and he prudently retired to the citadel and gave in his adhesion to the conqueror. The Shah was satisfied with the surrender of a considerable treasure and with the annexation of Lahore and Mooltan to his dominions. He expressed his admiration of Munnoo's spirit as a leader, and efficiency as a manager, and he continued him as his own delegate in the new acquisitions. The Shah took measures to bring Cashmeer also under his sway, and then retired towards his native country.*

This second capture of Lahore by strangers necessarily weakened the administration of the province, and the Sikhs, ever ready to rise, again became troublesome; but Adeena Beg found it advisable at the time to do away with the suspicions which attached to his inaction at Lahore, and to the belief that he temporized with insurgent peasantry for purposes of his own. He was required to bring the Sikhs to order, for they had virtually possessed themselves of the country lying between Amritsir and the hills. He fell suddenly upon them during a day of festival at Makhowal, and gave them a total defeat. But his object was still to be thought their friend, and he came to an understanding with them that their payment of their own rents should be nominal or limited, and their exactions from others moderate or systematic. He took also many of them into his pay; one of the number being Jussa Singh, a

* Compare Elphinstone, *Caubul*, ii. 288., and Murray's *Runjeet Singh*, p. 10. 13.

carpenter, who afterwards became a chief of consideration.*

Meer Munnoo died a few months after the re-establishment of his authority as the deputy of a new master.† His widow succeeded in procuring the acknowledgment of his infant son as viceroy under her own guardianship, and she endeavoured to stand equally well with the court of Delhi and with the Dooranee king. She professed submission to both, and she betrothed her daughter to Ghazeeooddeen, the grandson of the first Nizam of the Deccan, who had supplanted the Viceroy of Oude, as the minister of the enfeebled empire of India.‡ But the Vuzeer wished to recover a province for his sovereign, as well as to obtain a bride for himself. He proceeded to Lahore and removed his enraged mother-in-law; and the Punjab remained for a time under the nominal rule of Adeena Beg Khan, until Ahmed Shah again marched and made it his own. The Dooranee king passed through Lahore in the winter of 1755-56, leaving his son Tymoor under the tutelage of a chief, named Jehan Khan, as governor. The Shah likewise annexed Sirhind to his territories,

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* Compare Browne, *India Tracts*, ii. 17., and Malcolm, *Sketch*, p. 82.

† Forster (*Travels*, i. 315.) and Malcolm (*Sketch*, p. 92.), say 1752. Browne (*Travels*, ii. 18.) gives the Hijree year, 1165, which corresponds with 1751, 1752 A. D. Murray (*Runjeet Singh*, p. 13.) simply says Munnoo did not long survive his submission, but Elphinstone (*Caubul*, ii. 288.) gives 1756 as the date of the Viceroy's death.

‡ The original name of Ghazeeooddeen was Shahab-ood-deen, corrupted into Sahoodeen and Shaodeen by the Mahrattas.

and although he extended his pardon to Ghazeeooddeen personally, he did not return to Candahar until he had lundered Delhi and Muttra, and placed Nujeebood-dowla, a Rohilla leader, near the person of the Vuzeer's puppet king, as the titular commander of the forces of the Delhi empire, and as the efficient representative of Abdalee interests.*

Prince Tymoor's first object was to thoroughly disperse the insurgent Sikhs, and to punish Adeena Beg for the support which he had given to the Delhi minister in recovering Lahore. Jussa, the carpenter, had restored the Ram Rownee of Amritsir; that place was accordingly attacked, the fort was levelled, the buildings were demolished, and the sacred reservoir was filled with the ruins. Adeena Beg would not trust the prince, and retired to the hills, secretly aiding and encouraging the Sikhs in their desire for revenge. They assembled in great numbers, for the faith of Govind was the living conviction of hardy single-minded villagers, rather than the ceremonial belief of busy citizens, with thoughts diverted by the opposing interests and conventional usages of artificial society.

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* Compare Forster, *Travels*, i, 316, 317; Brown, *Tracts*, ii. 48.; Malcolm, *Sketch*, p. 92 94; Elphinstone, *Caubul*, ii. 288, 289; and Murray, *Runjeet Singh*, p. 14, 15.

During the nominal Viceroyalty of Meer Munnoo's widow, one Beekaree Khan played a conspicuous part as her deputy. He was finally put to death by the lady as one who designed to supplant her authority; but he was, nevertheless, supposed to have been her paramour. (Compare Browne, ii. 18, and Murray, p. 14) The gilt mosque at Lahore was built by this Beekaree Khan.

The country around Lahore swarmed with horsemen; the prince and his guardian were wearied with their cumbrous efforts to scatter them, and they found it prudent to retire towards the Chenab. Lahore was temporarily occupied by the triumphant Sikhs, and the same Jussa Singh, who had proclaimed the "Khalsa" to be a state and to possess an army, now gave it another symbol of substantive power. He used the mint of the Moghuls to strike a rupee bearing the inscription, "Coined by the grace of the 'Khalsa' in the country of Ahmed, conquered by Jussa the Kullal."*

The Delhi minister had about this time called in the Mahrattas to enable him to expell Nujeebooddowla, who, by his own address and power, and as the agent of Ahmed Shah Abdalee, had become paramount in the imperial councils. Ghazeeooddeen easily induced Ragoba, the Peshwah's brother, to advance; Delhi was occupied by the Mahrattas, and Nujeebooddowla escaped with difficulty. Adeena Beg found the Sikhs less willing to defer to him than he had hoped; they were, moreover, not powerful enough to enable him to govern the Punjab unaided, and he accordingly invited the Mahrattas to extend their arms to the Indus. He had also a body of Sikh followers, and he marched from the Jumna in company with Ragoba. Ahmed Shah's

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* Compare Browne, *Tracts*, ii. 19; Malcolm, *Sketch*, p. 93. &c.; Elphinstone, *Caubul*. ii. 289.; and Murray's *Runjeet Singh*, p. 15.

Elphinstone, using Afghan accounts, says Adeena Beg defeated a body of Tymoor's troops; and Murray, using apparently the accounts of Punjab Mahometans, omits the occupation of Lahore by the Sikhs.

governor of Sirhind was expelled, but Adeena Beg's Sikh allies incensed the Mahrattas by anticipating them in the plunder of the town, which, after two generations of rapine, they considered as peculiarly their right. The Sikhs evacuated Lahore, and the several Afghan garrisons retired and left the Mahrattas masters of Mooltan and of Attok, as well as of the capital itself. Adeena Beg become the governor of the Punjab, but his vision of complete independence was arrested by death, and a few months after he had established his authority, he was laid in his grave.* The Mahrattas seemed to see all India at their feet, and they concerted with Ghazeeooddeen a scheme pleasing to both, the reduction of Oude and the expulsion of the Rohillas.† But the loss of the Punjab brought Ahmed Shah a second time to the banks of the Jumna, and dissipated for ever the Mahratta dreams of supremacy.‡

The Dooranee king marched from Belotchistan up the Indus to Peshawur, and thence across the Punjab. His presence caused Mooltan and Lahore to be evacuated by the Mahrattas, and his approach induced the Vuzeer Ghazeeooddeen to take the life of the emperor, while the young prince, afterwards Shah Alum, was absent endeavoring to gain strength by an alliance

* Compare Browne, *India Tracts*, ii. 19, 20; Forster, *Travels*, i. 317, 318; Elphinstone, *Caubul*, ii. 290; and Grant Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*, ii. 132. Adeena Beg appears to have died before the end of 1758.

† Compare Elphinstone, *History of India*, ii. 669, 670.

‡ Nujeebooddowla, and the Rohillas likewise, urged Ahmed to return, when they saw their villages set on flames by the Mahrattas. Elphinstone, *India*, ii. 670., and Browne, *Tracts*, ii. 20.

with the English, the new masters of Bengal. The Mahratta commanders, Sindhia and Holkar, were separately overpowered; the Afghan king occupied Delhi, and then advanced towards the Ganges to engage Shoojaooddowla, of Oude, in the general confederacy against the southern Hindoos, who were about to make an effort for the final extinction of the Mahometan rule. A new commander, untired in the northern wars, but accompanied by the Peshwah's heir and by all the Mahratta chiefs of name, was advancing from Poonah, confident in his fortune and in his superior numbers. Sedosheo Rao easily expelled the Afghan detachment from Delhi, while the main body was occupied in the Dooab, and he vainly talked of proclaiming young Wiswas Rao to be the paramount of India. But Ahmed Shah gained his great victory of Paneeput in the beginning of 1761, and both the influence of the Peshwah among his own people, and the power of the Mahrattas in Hindostan received a blow, from which neither fully recovered, and which, indirectly, aided the accomplishment of their desires by almost unheeded foreigners.*

The Afghan king returned to Caubul immediately after the battle, leaving deputies in Sirhind and Lahore,† and the Sikhs only appeared, during this campaign, as

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* Browne, *India Tracts*, ii. 20, 21.; Elphinstone, *History of India*, ii. 670., &c.; and Murray's *Runjeet Singh*, pp. 17, 20.

Elphinstone says the Mahratta leader only delayed to proclaim Wiswas the paramount of Hindustan until the Dooranees should be driven across the Indus. See also Grand Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*, ii. 142. and note.

† Boolund Khan in Lahore, and Zein Khan in Sirhind, according to Browne, *India Tracts*, ii. 21 23.

predatory bands hovering round the Dooranee army; but the absence of all regular government gave them additional strength, and they were not only masters of their own villages, but began to erect forts for the purpose of keeping stranger communities in check. Among others Churrut Singh, the grandfather of Runjeet Singh, established a stronghold of the kind in his wife's village of Goojraolee (or Goojranwala), to the northward of Lahore. The Dooranee governor, or his deputy, Kwaja Obeid, went to reduce it in the beginning of 1762,* and the Sikhs assembled for its relief. The Afghan was repulsed, he left his baggage to be plundered, and fled to shut himself up within the walls of Lahore.† The governor of Sirhind held his ground better, for he was assisted by an active Mahometan leader of the country, Hinghun Khan of Malerh Kotla; but the Sikhs resented this hostility of an Indian Puthan as they did the treason of a Hindoo religionist of Jindeeala, who wore a sword like themselves, and yet adhered to Ahmed Shah. The "army of the Khalsa", assembled at Amritsir, the faithful performed their ablutions in the restored pool, and perhaps the first regular "Gooroomutta," or diet or conclave, was held

* Murray (*Runjeet Singh*, p. 21.) makes Kwaja Obeid the governor, and he may have succeeded or represented Boolund Khan, whom other accounts show to have occasionally resided at Rhotas. Goojranwala is the more common, if less ancient, form of the name of the village attacked. It was also the place of Runjeet Singh's birth, and is now a fair sized and thriving town. (Compare *Moonshi Shahamut Alee's Sikhs and Afghans*, p. 51.)

† Murray's *Runjeet Singh* p. 22, 23.

on this occasion. The possessions of Hinghun Khan were ravaged, and Jindeeala was invested, preparatory to attempts of greater moment.*

But the restless Ahmed Shah was again at hand. This prince, the very ideal of the Afghan genius, hardy and enterprizing, fitted for conquest, yet incapable of empire, seemed but to exist for the sake of losing and recovering provinces. He reached Lahore towards the end of 1762, and the Sikhs retired to the south of the Sutlej, perhaps with some design of joining their brethren who were watching Sirhind, and of overpowering Zein Khan the governor, before they should be engaged with Ahmed Shah himself; but in two long and rapid marches from Lahore, by way of Loodiana, the king came up with the Sikhs when they were about to enter into action with his lieutenant. He gave them a total defeat, and the Mahometans were as active in the pursuit as they had been ardent in the attack. The Sikhs are variously reported to have lost from twelve to twenty-five thousand men, and the rout is still familiarly known as the "Ghuloo Ghara," or great disaster.† Alha Singh, the founder of the present family of Putteeala, was among the prisoners, but his manly deportment pleased the warlike king, and the

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* Compare Browne, *India Tracts*, ii. 22, 23, and Murray's *Runjeet Singh*, p. 23.

† The scene of the fight lay between Goojerwal and Bernala, perhaps twenty miles south from Loodiana. Hinghou Khan, of Malerh Kotla, seems to have guided the Shah. Compare Browne *Tracts*, ii. 23.; Forster, *Travels*, i. 319; and Murray's *Runjeet Singh*, p. 23. 25. The action appears to have been fought in February, 1762.

conqueror may not have been insensible to the policy of widening the difference between a *Malwa* and a *Manjha* Singh. He was declared a raja of the state and dismissed with honour. The Shah had an interview at Sirhind with his ally or dependent Nujeebooddowla; he made a Hindoo, named Kabulee Mull, his governor of Lahore, and then hastened towards Candahar to suppress an insurrection in that distant quarter; but he first gratified his own resentment, and indulged the savage bigotry of his followers, by destroying the renewed temples of Amritsir, by polluting the pool with slaughtered cows, by encasing numerous pyramids with the heads of decapitated Sikhs, and by cleansing the walls of desecrated mosques with the blood of his infidel enemies.*

The Sikhs were not cast down; they received daily accessions to their numbers; a vague feeling that they were a people had arisen among them; all were bent on revenge, and their leaders were ambitious of dominion and of fame. Their first efforts were directed against the Puthan colony of Kussoor, which place they took and plundered, and they then fell upon and slew their old enemy Hinghun Khan of Malerh Kotla. They next marched towards Sirhind, and the court of Delhi was incapable of raising an arm in support of Mahometanism. Zein Khan, the Afghan governor, gave battle to the true or probable number of 40,000 Sikhs in the month of December, 1763, but he was defeated and slain, and the plains of Sirhind, from the Sutlej to the

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* Compare Forster, *Travels*, i. 320., and Murray's *Runjeet Singh*, p. 25.

Jumna, were occupied by the victors without further opposition. Tradition still describes how the Sikhs dispersed as soon as the battle was won, and how, riding day and night, each horseman would throw his belt and scabbard, his articles of dress and accoutrement, until he was almost naked, into successive villages, to mark them as his. Sirhind itself was totally destroyed, and the feeling still lingers which makes it meritorious to carry away a brick from the place which witnessed the death of the mother and children of Govind Singh. The impulse of victory swept the Sikhs across the Jumna, and their presence in Seharunpoor recalled Nujeebooddowla from his contests with the Jats, under Sooruj Mull, to protect his own principality, and he found it prudent to use negotiation as well as force, to induce the invaders to retire.*

Nujeebooddowla was successful against the Jats, and Sooruj Mull was killed in fight ; but the vuzeer, or regent, was himself besieged in Delhi, in 1764, by the son of the deceased chief, and the heir of Bhurtpoor was aided by a large body of Sikhs, as well as of Mahrattas more accustomed to defy the imperial power.† The loss of Sirhind had brought Ahmed Shah a seventh time across the Indus, and the danger of Nujeebooddowla led him onwards to the neighbourhood of the Jumna ; but the siege of Delhi being raised—partly

* Compare Browne, *India Tracts*, ii. 24, and Murray's *Runjeet Singh*, p. 26, 27. Some accounts represent the Sikhs to have also become temporarily possessed of Lahore at this period.

† Compare Browne, *Tracts*, ii. 24. Sikh tradition still preserves the names of the chiefs who plundered the vegetable market at Delhi on this occasion.

through the mediation or the defection of the Mahratta chief, Holkar, and Ahmed Shah having perhaps rebellions to suppress in his native provinces—hastened back without making any effective attempt to recover Sirhind. He was content with acknowledging Alha Singh of Puteeala as govornor of the province on his part, that chief having opportunely procured the town itself in exchange from the descendant of an old companion of the Gooroo's, to whom the confederates had assigned it. The Sikh accounts do not allow that the Shah retired unmolested, but describe a long and arduous contest in the vicinity of Amritsir, which ended without either party being able to claim a victory, although it precipitated the already hurried retirement of the Afghans. The Sikhs found little difficulty in ejecting Kabulee Mull, the governor of Lahore, and the whole country, from the Jehlum to the Sutlej, was partitioned among chiefs and their followers, as the plains of Sirhind had been divided in the year previous. Numerous mosques were demolished, and Afghans in chains were made to wash the foundations with the blood of hogs. The chiefs then assembled at Amritsir, and proclamed their own sway and the prevalence of their faith, by striking a coin with an inscription to the effect that Gooroo Govind had received from Nanuk " Deg, Tegh, and Futteh, " or grace, power, and rapid victory. *

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* Compare Browne, *India Tracts*, ii. 25. 27. ; Forster, *Travels*, i. 321, 323 ; Elphinstone, *Caubul*, ii. 296, 297 ; and Murray's *Runjeet Singh*, p. 26, 27.

The rupees struck were called " Govindshahee," and the use of the emperor's name was rejected (Browne, *Tracts*, ii. 28), although existing coins show that it was afterwards occasionally inserted by

The Sikhs were not interfered with for two years, and the short interval was employed in ascertaining their actual possessions, and in determining their mutual relations in their unaccustomed condition of liberty and power. Every Sikh was free, and each was a substantive member of the commonwealth; but their means, their abilities, and their opportunities were various and unequal, and it was soon found that all could not lead, and that there were even then masters as well as servants. Their system naturally resolved itself into a theocratic confederate feudalism, with all the confusion and uncertainty attendant upon a triple alliance of the kind in a society half barbarous. God was their helper and only judge, community of faith or object was their moving principle and warlike array, the devotion to steel of Govind, was their material instrument. Year by year the "Surbut Khalsa," or whole Sikh people, met once at least at Amritsir, on the occasion of the festival of the mythological Rama, when the cessation of the periodical rains rendered military operations practicable. It was perhaps hoped that the performance of religious duties, and the awe inspired by so holy a place might cause

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petty chiefs. On most coins struck by Runjeet Singh, is the inscription, " Deg, wuh Tegh, wuh Futtee, wuh nusrut be dirung yaft, uz Nanuk Gooroo Govind Singh," that is, literally, " Grace, power, and victory, victory without pause, Gooroo Govind Singh obtained from Nanuk." For some observations on the words Deg, and Tegh, and Futteh, see notes, p. 83-84 Chap. III. Browne (*Tracts*,) ii., Introd. vii.) gives no typical import to " Deg," and therefore leaves it meaningless ; but he is perhaps more prudent than Colonel Sleeman, who writes of " the sword, the *pot* victory, and conquest being quickly found," &c., &c. (See *Rambles of an Indian Official*, ii. 233., note.)

selfishness to yield to a regard for the general welfare, and the assembly of chiefs was termed a "Gooroomutta," to denote that, in conformity with Govind's injunction, they sought wisdom and unanimity of counsel from their teacher and the book of his word. * The leaders who thus piously met, owned no subjection to one another, and they were imperfectly obeyed by the majority of their followers; but the obvious feudal, or military notion of a chain of dependence, was acknowledged as the law, and the federate chiefs partitioned their joint conquests equally among themselves, and divided their respective shares in the same manner among their own leaders of bands, while these again subdivided their portions among their own dependents, agreeably to the general custom of subinfeudation.† This positive or understood rule was not

* "Mut" means understanding, and "Mutta" counsel or wisdom. Hence Gooroomutta becomes, literally, "the advice of the Gooroo."

Malcolm (*Sketch*, p. 52) considers, and Browne (*Tracts*, ii. vii.) leaves it to be implied, that Govind directed the assemblage of Gooroomutta; but there is no authority for believing that he ordained any formal or particular institution, although, doubtless the general scope of his injunctions, and the peculiar political circumstances of the times, gave additional force to the practice of holding diets or conclaves—a practice common to mankind everywhere, and systematised in India from time immemorial. Compare Forster, *Travels*, i. 328 &c., for some observations on the transient Sikh government of the time, and on the more enduring characteristics of the people. See also Malcolm, *Sketch*, p. 120, for the ceremonial forms of a Gooroomutta.

† Compare Murray, *Runjeet Singh*, p. 33—37. From tracts of country which the Sikhs subdued but did not occupy, "Rak'hee, literally, protection money, was regularly levied. The Rak'hee

however, always applicable to actual conditions, for the Sikhs were in part of their possessions "earth-born," or many held lands in which the mere withdrawal of a central authority had left them wholly independent of control. In theory such men were neither the subjects nor the retainers of any feudal chief, and they could transfer their services to whom they pleased, or they could themselves become leaders, and acquire new lands for their own use in the name of the Khalsa or common-wealth. It would be idle to call an everchanging state of alliance and dependence by the name of a constitution, and we must look for the existence of the faint outline of a system, among the emancipated Sikhs, rather in the dictates of our common nature, than in the enactments of assemblies, or in the injunctions of their religious guides. It was soon apparent that the strong were ever ready to make themselves obeyed, and ever anxious to appropriate all within their power, and that unity of creed or of race nowhere deters men from preying upon one another. A full persuasion of God's grace was nevertheless present to the mind of a Sikh, and every member of that faith continues to defer to the mystic Khalsa; but it requires the touch of genius,

varied in amount from perhaps a fifth to a half of the rental or government share of the produce. It corresponded with the Mahratta "Chowt," or fourth, and both terms meant "black mail," or, in a higher sense, tribute. Compare Browne, *India Tracts*, ii. viii, and *Murray's Runjeet Singh*, p. 32. The subdivisions of property were sometimes so minute that two, or three, or ten Sikhs might become copartners in the rental of one village, or in the house tax of one street of a town, while the fact that jurisdiction accompanied such right increased the confusion.

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or the operation of peculiar circumstances, to give direction and complete effect to the enthusiastic belief of a multitude.

The confederacies into which the Sikhs resolved themselves have been usually recorded as twelve in number, and the term used to denote such a union was the Arabic word "Misl," alike or equal.* Each Misl obeyed or followed a "Sirdar," that is, simply, a chief or leader; but so general a title was as applicable to the head of a small band as to the commander of a large host of the free and equal "Singhs" of the system. The confederacies did not all exist in their full strength at the same time, but one "Misl" gave birth to another; for the federative principle necessarily pervaded the union, and an aspiring chief could separate himself from his immediate party, to form, perhaps, a greater one of his own. The Misls were again distinguished by titles derived from the name, the village, the district, or the progenitor of the first or most eminent chief, or from some peculiarity of custom or of leadership. Thus, of the twelve,—1. the *Bunghees* were so called from the real or fancied fondness of its members for the use of an intoxicating drug †; 2. the *Nishaneeas* followed the

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* Notwithstanding this usual derivation of the term, it may be remembered that the Arabic term "Musluhut" (spelt with another 's' than that in misl), means armed men and warlike people. "Misl," moreover, means, in India, a file of papers, or indeed any thing serried or placed in ranks.

† Bhung is a product of the hemp plant, and it is to the Sikhs what opium is to Rajpoots, and strong liquor to Europeans. Its qualities are abused to an extent prejudicial to the health and understanding.

standard bearers of the united army; 3. the *Shuheeds* and *Nihungs* were headed by the descendants of honored martyrs and zealots; 4. the *Ramgurheeas* took their name from the Ram Rownee, or Fortalice of God, at Amritsir, enlarged into Ramgurh, or Fort of the Lord, by Jussa the Carpenter; 5. the *Nukeias* arose in a tract of country to the south of Lahore so called; 6. the *Alhoowaleeas* derived their title from the village in which Jussa, who first proclaimed the existence of the army of the new theocracy, had helped his father to distil spirits; 7. the *Ghuneias*, or *Kuneias*; 8. the *Feizoolapooreeas* or *Singhpooreeas*; 9. the *Sookerchukeeas*, and 10. perhaps, the *Dullehwalas*, were similarly so denominated from the villages of their chiefs; 11. the *Krora Singheeas* took the name of their third leader, but they were sometimes called *Punjgurheeas*, from the village of their first chief; and 12. the *Phoolkeeas* went back to the common ancestor of Alha Singh and other Sirdars of his family.*

Of the Misls, all save that of Phoolkeea arose in the Punjab or to the north of the Sutlej, and they were termed *Manjha* Singhs, from the name of the country around Lahore, and in contradistinction to the *Malwa* Singhs, so called from the general appellation of the districts lying between Sirhind and Sirsa. The Feizool-

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* Captain Murray (*Runjeet Singh*, p. 29 &c.) seems to have been the first who perceived and pointed out the Sikh system of "Misls." Neither the organization nor the term is mentioned specifically by Forster, or Browne, or Malcolm, and at first Sir David Ochterloney considered and acted as if "misl" meant tribe or race, instead of party or confederacy. (Sir D. Ochterloney to the Government of India, 30th December, 1809.)

apooreeas, the Alhoowaleeas, and the Ramgurheeas, were the first who arose to distinction in Manjha, but the Bunghees soon became so predominant as almost to be supreme ; they were succeeded to some extent in this pre-eminence by the Kuneias, an offshoot of the Feizoolapooreeas, until all fell before Runjeet Singh and the Sookerchukeeas. In Malwa the Phoolkeeas always admitted the superior merit of the Putteeala branch ; this dignity was confirmed by Ahmed Shah's bestowal of a title on Aiha Singh, and the real strength of the confederacy made it perhaps inferior to the Bunghees alone. The Nishaneeas and Shuheeds, scarcely formed Misls in the conventional meaning of the term, but complementary bodies set apart and honored by all for particular reasons.* The Nukeias never achieved a high power or name, and the Dullehwalas and Krora Singheeas, an offshoot of the Feizoolapooras, acquired nearly all their possessions by the capture of Sirhind ; and although the last acquired a great reputation, it never became predominant over others.

The native possession of the Bunghees extended north, from their cities of Lahore and Amritsir, to the Jehlum, and then down that river. The Kuneias dwelt between Amritsir and the hills. The Sookerchukeeas lived south of the Bunghees, between the Chenab and Ravee. The Nukeias held along the Ravee, southwest

* Perhaps Captain Murray is scarcely warranted in making the Nishaneeas and Shuheeds regular Misls. Other bodies, especially to the westward of the Jehlum, might, with equal reason, have been held to represent separate confederacies. Captain Murray, indeed, in such matters of detail, merely expresses the local opinions of the neighborhood of the Sutlej.

of Lahore. The Feizoolapooreeas possessed tracts along the right bank of the Beeas and of the Sutlej, below its junction. The Alhoowaleeas similarly occupied the left bank of the former river. The Dullehwalas possessed themselves of the right bank of the Upper Sutlej, and the Ramgurheeas lay in between these last two, but towards the hills. The Krora Singheeas also held lands in the Jalundhur Dooab. The Phoolkeeas were native to the country about Soonam and Bhuttinda, to the south of the Sutlej, and the Shuheeds and Nishaneeas do not seem to have possessed any villages which they did not hold by conquest ; and thus these two Misls, along with those of Manjha, who captured Sirhind, viz. the Bhunghees, the Alhoowaleeas, the Dullehwalas, the Ramgurheeas, and the Krora Singheeas, divided among themselves the plains lying south of the Sutlej and under the hills from Feerozpoor to Kurnal, leaving to their allies, the Phoolkeeas, the lands between Sirhind and Delhi, which adjoined their own possessions in Malwa.*

The number of horsemen which the Sikhs could muster have been variously estimated from seventy thousand to four times that amount, and the relative strength of each confederacy is equally a subject of doubt.† All that is certain is the great superiority of

* Dr. Macgregor, in his *History of the Sikhs* (i. 28. &c.), gives an abstract of some of the ordinary accounts of a few of the Misls.

† Forster in 1783 (*Travels*, i. 333.), said the Sikh forces were estimated at 300,000, but might be taken at 200,000. Browne (*Tracts Illustrative Map*) about the same period enumerates 73,000 horsemen, and 25,000 foot. Twenty years afterwards Colonel Francklin said, in one work (*Life of Shah Alum*, note, p. 75.), that the Sikhs

the Bunghees, and the low position of the Nukeias and Sookerchukeeas. The first could perhaps assemble 20,000 men, in its widely scattered possessions, and the last about a tenth of that number ; and the most moderate estimate of the total force of the nation may likewise be assumed to be the truest. All the Sikhs were horsemen, and among a half barbarous people dwelling on plains, or in action with undisciplined forces, cavalry must ever be the most formidable arm. The Sikhs speedily became famous for the effective use of the matchlock when mounted, and this skill is said to have descended to them from their ancestors, in whose hands the bow was a fatal weapon. Infantry were almost solely used to garrison forts, or a man followed a misl on foot, until plunder gave him a horse or the means of buying one. Cannon was not used by the early Sikhs, and its introduction was very gradual, for its possession implies wealth, or an organization both civil and military. *

Besides the regular confederacies, with their moderate degree of subordination, there was a body of men who threw off all subjection to earthly governors, and who peculiarly represented the religious element of Sikhism. These were the "Akalees," the immortals, or rather the soldiers of God, who, with their blue dress and

mustered 248,000 cavalry, and in another book (*Life of George Thomas*, note, p. 68), that they could not lead into action more than 64,000. George Thomas himself estimated their strength at 60,000 horse, and 5,000 foot. (*Life, by Francklin*, p. 274.)

* George Thomas, giving the supposed status of 1800 A. D., says the Sikhs had 40 pieces of field artillery. (*Life by Francklin*, p. 274.)

bracelets of steel, claimed for themselves a direct institution by Govind Singh. The Gooroo had called upon men to sacrifice every thing for their faith, to leave their homes and to follow the profession of arms; but he and all his predecessors had likewise denounced the inert asceticism of the Hindoo sects, and thus the fanatical feeling of a Sikh took a destructive turn. The Akalees formed themselves in their struggle to reconcile warlike activity with the relinquishment of the world. The meek and humble were satisfied with the assiduous performance of menial offices in temples, but the fierce enthusiasm of others prompted them to act from time to time as the armed guardians of Amritsir, or suddenly to go where blind impulse might lead them, and to win their daily bread, even single-handed, at the point of the sword.* They also took upon themselves something of the authority of censors, and, although no leader appears to have fallen by their hands for defection to the Khalsa, they inspired awe as well as respect, and would sometimes plunder those

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* Compare Malcolm (*Sketch*, p. 116), who repeats, and apparently acquiesces, in the opinion, that the Akalees were instituted as an order by Gooroo Govind. There is not, however, any writing of Govind's on record, which shows that he wished the Sikh faith to be represented by mere zealots, and it seems clear that the class of men arose as stated in the text.

So strong is the feeling that a Sikh should work, or have an occupation, that one who abandons the world, and is not of a warlike turn, will still employ himself in some way for the benefit of the community. Thus the author once found an Akalee repairing, or rather making, a road, among precipitous ravines, from the plain of the Sutlej to the petty town of Keeritpoor He avoided intercourse with the world generally. He was highly

who had offended them or had injured the common wealth. The passions of the Akalees had full play until Runjeet Singh became supereme, and it cost that able and resolute chief much time and trouble, at once to suppress them, and to preserve his own reputation with the people.

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esteemed by the people, who left food and clothing at particular places for him, and his earnest persevering character had made an evident impression on a Hindoo shepherd boy, who had adopted part of the Akalee dress, and spoke with awe of the devotee.

CHAPTER V.

FROM THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE SIKHS TO THE ASCENDANCY OF RUNJEET SINGH AND THE ALLIANCE WITH THE ENGLISH.

1765—1808-9.

Ahmed Shah's last invasion of India.—The pre-eminence of the Bunghee Confederacy among the Sikhs—Tymoor Shah's expeditions.—The Phoolkeea Sikhs in Hurreeana.—Zabita Khan.—The Kuneia Confederacy paramount among the Sikhs.—Muha Singh Sookerchukeea becomes conspicuous.—Shah Zuman's invasions and Runjeet Singh's rise.—The Mahrattas under Sindhia predominant in Northern India.—General Perron and George Thomas.—Alliances of the Mahrattas and Sikhs.—Intercourse of the English with the Sikhs.—Lord Lake's campaigns against Sindhia and Holkar.—First treaty of the English with the Sikhs.—Preparations against a French invasion of India.—Treaty of alliance with Runjeet Singh, and of protection with Cis-Sutlej Sikh Chiefs.

THE Sikhs had mastered the upper plains from Kurnal and Hansee to the banks of the Jehlum. The necessity of union was no longer paramount, and rude untaught men are ever prone to give the rein to their passions, and to prefer their own interests to the welfare of the community. Some dwelt on real or fancied injuries, and thought the time had come for

ample vengeance; others were moved by local associations to grasp at neighboring towns and districts; and the truer Sikh alone at once resolved to extend his faith, and to add to the general domain of the Khalsa, by complete conquest or by the imposition of tribute. When thus about to arise, after their short repose, refreshed and variously inclined, they were again awed into unanimity by the final descent of Ahmed Shah. That monarch, whose activity and power declined with increase of years and the progress of disease, made yet another attempt to recover the Punjab, the most fertile of his provinces. He crossed the Indus in 1767, but he avoided Lahore and advanced no further than the Sutlej. He endeavoured to conciliate when he could no longer overcome, and he bestowed the title of Muharaja, and the office of military commander in Sirhind, upon the warlike Ummer Singh, who had succeeded his grandfather as chief of Putteeala, or of the Malwa Sikhs. He likewise saw a promising ally in the Rajpoot chief of Kototch, and he made him his deputy in the Jalundhur Dooab and adjoining hills. His measures were interrupted by the defection of his own troops; twelve thousand men marched back towards Caubul, and the Shah found it prudent to follow them. He was harassed in his retreat, and he had scarcely crossed the Indus before Sher Shah's mountain stronghold of Rhotas was blockaded by the Sookerchukeeas, under the grandfather of Runjeet Singh, aided by a detachment of the neighbouring Bunghee confederacy. The place fell in 1768, and the Bunghees almost immediately afterwards occupied the country as far as Rawul Pindee and the vale of Khanpoor, the Gukkers

showing but little of that ancient hardihood which distinguished them in their contests with invading Moghuls.*

The Bunghees, under Hurree Singh, next marched towards Mooltan, but they were met by the Mahometan Daoodpotras, who had migrated from Sindh on learning Nadir Shah's intention of transplanting them to Ghuznee, and had established the principality now known as Buhawulpoor.† The chief, Mobarik Khan, after a parley with Hurree Singh, arranged that the neutral town of Pakputtun, held by a Mussulman saint of eminence, should be the common boundary. Hurree Singh then swept towards Dera Ghazee Khan and the Indus, and while thus employed, his feudatory of Goojrat, who had recently taken Rawul Pindee, made

* Forster, *Travels*, i. 323; Elphinstone, *Caubul*, ii. 297; *Murray's Runjeet Singh*, p. 27; *Moorcroft's Travels* i. 127, and manuscript accounts consulted by the author.

† When Nadir Shah proceeded to establish his authority in Sindh, he found the ancestor of the Buhawulpoor family a man of reputation in his native district of Shikarpoor. The Shah made him the deputy of the upper third of the province; but, becoming suspicious of the whole clan he resolved on removing it to Ghuznee. The tribe then migrated up the Sutlej, and seized lands by force. The Daoodpotras are so called from Daood (David), the first of the family who acquired a name. They fabulously trace their origin to the Caliph Abbas; but they may be regarded as Sindhian Belotches, or as Belotches changed by a long residence in Sindh. In establishing themselves on the Sutlej, they reduced the remains of the ancient Lunggas and Johyas to further insignificance; but they introduced the Sindhian system of canals of irrigation, and both banks of the river below Pakputtun bear witness to their original industry and love of agriculture.

an attempt to penetrate into Cashmeer by the ordinary road, but was repulsed with loss. On the Jumna, and in the great Dooab, the old Nujeebooddowla was so hard pressed by Raee Singh Bunghee, who emulated him as a paternal governor in his neighbouring town and district of Jagadhree, and by Bughel Singh Krora Singheea, that he proposed to the Mahrattas a joint expedition against these new lords. His death, in 1770, put an end to the plan, for his succeeding son had other views, and encouraged the Sikhs as useful allies upon an emergency.*

Hurree Singh Bunghee died, and he was succeeded by Jhunda Singh, who carried the power of the Misl to its height. He rendered Jummoo tributary, and the place was then of considerable importance, for the repeated Afghan invasions, and the continued insurrections of the Sikhs, had driven the transit trade of the plains to the circuitous but safe route of the hills; and the character of the Rajpoot chief, Runjeet Deo, was such as gave confidence to traders, and to induce them to flock to his capital for protection. The Puthans of Kussoor were next rendered tributary, and Jhunda Singh then deputed his lieutenant, Mujja Singh, against Mooltan: but that leader was repulsed and slain by the united forces of the joint Afghan governors, and of the Buhawulpoor chief. Next year, or in 1772, these joint managers quarrelled, and as one of them asked the assistance of Jhunda Singh, that unscrupulous leader was enabled to possess himself of the citadel.

* The memoirs of the Buhawulpoor family, and manuscrip Sikh histories. Compare also Forster, *Travels*, i. 148.

On his return to the northward, he found that a rival claimant of the Jammoo chiefship had obtained the aid of Churrut Shingh Sookerchukeea, and of Jaee Singh, the rising leader of the Kuneia Misl. Churrut Singh was killed by the bursting of his own matchlock, and Jaee Singh was then so base as to procure the assassination of Jhunda Singh. Being satisfied with the removal of this powerful chief, the Kuneia left the Jummoo claimant to prosecute his cause alone, and entered into a league with the old Jussa Singh Alhoowaleea, for the expulsion of the other Jussa Singh the Carpenter, who had rendered Ahmed Shah's nominal deputy, Ghumund Chund of Kototch, and other Rajpoots of the hills, his tributaries. The Ramgurheea Jussa Singh was at last beaten, and he retired to the wastes of Hurreeana to live by plunder. At this time, or about 1774, died the Mahometan governor of Kanggra. He had contrived to maintain himself in independence, or in reserved subjection to Delhi or Caubul, although the rising chief of Kototch had long desired to possess so famous a stronghold. Jaee Singh Kuneia was prevailed on to assist him, and the place fell; but the Sikh chose to keep it to himself, and the possession of the imperial fort aided him in his usurpation of Jussa Singh's authority over the surrounding Rajas and Thakoors.*

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* The memoirs of the Buhawulpoor chief and manuscript Sikh accounts. Compare *Murray's Runjeet Singh*, p. 38. &c., and Forster, *Travels*, i. 283. 286. 336.

Runjeet Deo, of Jummoo, died in 1770 A. D.

Churrut Singh was killed accidentally, and Jhunda Singh was assassinated, in 1774.

In the south of the Punjab, the Bunghee Sikhs continued predominant; they seem to have possessed the strong fort of Munkehra as well as Mooltan, and to have levied exactions from Kalabagh downwards. They made an attempt to carry Shooja-abad, a place built by the Afghans on losing Mooltan, but to have failed. Tymoor Shah, who succeeded his father in 1773, was at last induced or enabled to cross the Indus, but his views were directed towards Sindh, Buhawulpur, and the Lower Punjab, and he seems to have had no thought of a reconquest of Lahore. In the course of 1777-78, two detachments of the Caubul army unsuccessfully endeavored to dislodge the Sikhs from Mooltan, but in the season of 1778-79, the Shah marched in person against the place. Ghunda Singh, the new leader of the Bunghees, was embroiled with other Sikh chiefs, and his lieutenant surrendered the citadel after a show of resistance. Tymoor Shah reigned until 1793, but he was fully occupied with Sindhian, Cashmere, and Oozbek rebellions; the Sikhs were even unmolested in their possession of Rawul Pindee, and their predatory horse traversed the plains of Chutch up to the walls of Attok.*

In the direction of Hurreeana and Delhi, the young Ummar Singh Phoolkeea began systematically to extend and consolidate his authority. He acquired Sirsa

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Hurree Singh Bunghee appears to have been killed in battle with Ummer Singh, of Putteala, about 1770.

* Memoirs of the Buhawulpoor chief, and other manuscript histories. Compare Browne, *India Tracts*, ii. 28, and Forster, *Travels*, i. 324.; Elphinstone (*Caubul*, ii. 303.) makes 1781, and not 1779, the date of the recovery of Mooltan from the Sikhs.

and Futtehabad, his territories marched with those of Beekaneer and Buhawulpoor, and his feudatories of Jeend and Kythul possessed the open country around Hansee and Rohtuk. He was recalled to his capital of Putteeala, by a final effort of the Delhi court to re-establish its authority in the province of Sirhind. An army, headed by the minister of the day, and by Furkhoonda Bukht, one of the imperial family, marched in the season 1779-80. Kurnal was recovered; some payments were promised; and the eminent Krora-Singheea leader, Bughel Singh, tendered his submission. Dehsoo Singh, of Kythul, was seized and heavily mulcted, and the army approached Putteeala. Ummer Singh promised fealty and tribute, and Bughel Singh seemed sincere in his mediation; but suddenly it was learnt that a large body of Sikhs had marched from Lahore, and the Moghul troops retired with precipitation to Paneeput, not without a suspicion that the cupidity of the minister had been gratified with Sikh gold, and had induced him to betray his master's interests. Ummer Singh died in 1781, leaving a minor son of imbecile mind. Two years afterwards a famine desolated Hurreeana; the people perished or sought other homes; Sirsa was deserted, and a large tract of country passed at the time from under regular sway, and could not afterwards be recovered by the Sikhs.*

In the Dooab of the Ganges and Jumna, the Sikhs rather subsidized Zabita Khan, the son of Najebood-

* Manuscript histories, and Mr. Ross Bell's report of 1836, on the Bhutteeana boundary. Compare *Francklin's Shah Alum*, p. 86. 90., and Shah Nuwaz Khan's Epitome of Indian History, called *Mirrit-i-Aftab Nooma*.

dowla, then became his deferential allies. That chief had design, perhaps, upon the titular ministry of the empire, and having obtained a partial success over the imperial troops, he proceeded, in 1776, towards Delhi, with the intention of laying siege to the city. But when the time for action arrived, he mistrusted his power; the emperor, on his part, did not care to provoke him too far; a compromise was effected, and he was confirmed in his possession of Seharunpoor. On this occasion Zabita Khan was accompanied by a body of Sikhs, and he was so desirous of conciliating them, that he is credibly said to have adopted their dress, to have received the Pahul, or initiatory rite, and to have taken the new name of Dhurrum Singh.*

Jussa Singh Ramgurheea, when compelled to fly to the Punjab by the Kuneia and Alhoowaleea confederacies, was aided by Ummer Singh Phoolkeea in establishing himself in the country near Hissar, whence he proceeded to levy exactions up to the walls of Delhi. In 1781 a body of Phoolkeea and other Sikhs marched down the Dooab, but they were successfully attacked under the walls of Meerut by the imperial commander Mirza Shuffee Beg, and Gajput Singh of Jeend was taken prisoner. Nevertheless, in 1783, Bughel Singh and other commanders were strong enough to propose crossing the Ganges, but they were deterred by the watchfulness of the Oude troops on the opposite bank. The destructive famine already alluded to, seems to have compelled Jussa Singh to move into the Dooab, and, in

* Compare Forster, *Travels*, i. 325; Browne, *India Tracts*, ii. 29; and *Francklin's Shah Alum*, p. 72.

1785, Rohilkhund was entered by the confederates and plundered as far as Chundosee, which is within forty miles of Bareilly. At this period Zabita Khan was almost confined to the walls of his fort of Ghowsgurh, and the hill Raja of Gurhwal, whose ancestor had received Dara as a refugee in defiance of Aurungzeb, had been rendered tributary, equally with all his brother Rajpoots, in the lower hills westward to the Chenab. The Sikhs were predominant from the frontiers of Oude to the Indus, and the traveller Forster amusingly describes the alarm caused to a little chief and his people by the appearance of *two* Sikh horsemen under the walls of their fort, and the assiduous services and respectful attention which the like number of troopers met with from the local authorities of Gurhwal, and from the assembled wayfarers at a place of public reception.*

In the Punjub itself Jaee Singh Kuneia continued to retain a paramount influence. He had taken Maha Singh, the son of Churrut Singh Sookerchukeea, under his protection, and he aided the young chief in capturing Russoolnuggur on the Chenab, from a Mahometan family. Muha Singh's reputation continued to increase, and, about 1784-85, he so far threw off his dependence upon Jee Singh as to interfere in the affairs of Jummoo on his own account. His interference is understood to have ended in the plunder of the place; but the wealth he had obtained and the independence he had shown, both roused the anger of Jaee Singh, who rudely repelled Muha Singh's apologies and offers of atonement,

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* Forster, *Travels*, i. 228, 229, 262, 326, and note. Compare also *Francklin's Shah Alum*, p. 93, 94, and the Persian epitome *Mirrit-i-Aftab Nooma*.

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and the spirit of the young chief being fired, he went away resolved to appeal to arms. He sent to Jussa Singh Ramgurheea, and that leader was glad of an opportunity of recovering his lost possessions. He joined Muha Singh, and easily procured the aid of Sunsar Chund, the grandson of Ghumund Chund of Kotoch. The Kuneias were attacked and defeated; Goorbukhsh Singh, the eldest son of Jaee Singh, was killed and the spirit of the old man was effectually humbled by this double sorrow. Jussa Singh was restored to his territories, and Sunsar Chund obtained the fort of Kanggra, which his father and grandfather had been so desirous of possessing. Muha Sigh now became the most influential chief in the Punjab, and he gladly assented to the proposition of Sudda Kour, the widow of Jaee Singh's son, that the alliance of the two families should be cemented by the union of her infant daughter with Runjeet Singh, the only son of Muha Singh, and who was born to him about 1780. Muha Singh next proceeded to attack Goojrat, the old Bunghee chief of which, Goojer Singh, his father's confederate, died in 1791; but he was himself taken ill during the siege, and expired in the beginning of the following year at the early age of twenty-seven.*

* Manuscript histories and chronicles. Compare Forster, *Travels*, i. 288., *Murray's Ranjeet Singh*, p. 42, 48, and *Moorcroft's Travels*, i. 127. The date of 1785, 1786, for the reduction o the Kuneias and the restoration of Jussa Singh, &c., is preferred to 1782, which is given by Murray, partly because the expedition Rohilkhund took place in 1785, as related by Forster (*Travels*, 326, note), and Jussa Singh is generally admitted to have been gaged in it, being then in banishment.

Shah Zuman succeeded to the throne of Caubul in the year 1793, and his mind seems always to have been filled with idle hopes of an Indian empire. In the end of 1795 he moved to Hussen Abdal, and sent forward a party which is said to have recovered the fort of Rhotas; but the exposed state of his western dominions induced him to return to Caubul. The rumours of another Dooranee invasion do not seem to have been unheeded by the princes of Upper India, then pressed by the Mahrattas and the English. Gholam Mahomed, the defeated usurper of Rohilkhund, crossed the Punjab in 1795--96, with the view of inducing Shah Zuman to prosecute his designs, and he was followed by agents on the part of Asofooddowla of Oude, partly to counteract perhaps, the presumed machinations of his enemy, but mainly to urge upon his Majesty that all Mahometans would gladly hail him as a deliverer. The Shah reached Lahore, in the beginning of 1797, with thirty thousand men, and he endeavored to conciliate the Sikhs and to render his visionary supremacy an agreeable burden. Several chiefs joined him, but the proceedings of his brother Mehmood recalled him before he had time to make any progress in settling the country, even had the Sikhs been disposed to submit without a struggle; but the Sikhs were perhaps less dismayed than the beaten Mahrattas and the ill-informed English.

The latter lamented, with the Vuzeer of Outh, the danger to which his dominions were exposed; they prudently cantoned a force at Anoopshuhur in the Dooab, and their apprehensions led them to depute a mission to Teheran, with the view of instigating the Shah of

Persia to invade the Afghan territories. Shah Zuman renewed his invasion in 1798; a body of five thousand men, sent far in advance, was attacked and dispersed, on the Jehlum, but he entered Lahore without opposition and renewed his measures of mixed conciliation and threat. He found an able but doubtful partizan in Nizamooddeen Khan, a Pathan of Kussoor, who had acquired a high local reputation, and he was employed to coerce such of the Sikhs, including the youthful Runjeet Singh, as pertinaciously kept aloof. *They* distrusted the Shah's honor; but Nizamooddeen distrusted the permanence of his power, and he prudently forbore to proceed to extremities against neighbors to whom he might soon be left a prey. Some resultless skirmishing took place, but the designs of Mehmood, who had obtained the support of Persia, again withdrew the ill-fated king to the west, and he quitted Lahore in the beginning of 1799. During this second invasion the character of Runjeet Singh seems to have impressed itself, not only on other Sikh leaders, but on the Dooranee Shah. He coveted Lahore, which was associated in the minds of men with the possession of power, and, as the king was unable to cross his heavy artillery over the flooded Jehlum, he made it known to the aspiring chief that their transmission would be an acceptable service. As many pieces of cannon as could be readily extricated were sent after the Shah, and Runjeet Singh procured what he wanted, a royal investiture of the capital of the Punjab. Thenceforward the history of the Sikhs gradually centres in their great Muharaja; but the revival of the Mahratta power in Upper India, and the appearance of the English on the scene, require that the

narrative of his achievements should be somewhat interrupted.*

The abilities of Madhajee Sindhia restored the power of the Mahrattas in Northern India, and the discipline of his regular brigades seemed to place his administration on a firm and lasting basis. He mastered Agra in 1785, and was made deputy vicegerent of the empire by the titular emperor, Shah Alam. He entered at the same time into an engagement with confederate Sikh chiefs, to the effect that of all their joint conquests on either side of the Jumna, he should have two-thirds and the "Khalsa" the remainder. † This alliance was considered to clearly point at the kingdom of Oude, which the English were bound to defend, and perhaps to effect the authority of Delhi, which they wished to see strong ; but the schemes of the Mahratta were for a time interrupted by the Rohilla, Gholam Qadir. This chief succeeded his father Zabita Khan in 1785, and

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* Elphinstone (*Caubul* ii. 308) states that Shah Zuman was exhorted to undertake his expedition of 1795, by a refugee prince of Delhi, and encouraged in it by Tippoo Sooltan. The journey of Gholam Mahomed, the defeated Rohilla chief, and the mission of the Vuzeer of Oude, are given on the authority of the Buhawulpoor family annals, and from the same source may be added an interchange of deputations on the part of Shah Zuman and Sindhia, the envoys, as in the other instance having passed through Buhawulpoor town. A suspicion of the complicity of Asofoodowla, of Lucknow, does not seem to have occurred to the English historians, who rather dilate on the exertions made by their government to protect their pledged ally from the northern invaders. Nevertheless, the statements of the Bahawulpoor chronicles on the subject seem in every way credible.

† Browne, *India Tracts* ii. 29.

had contrived, by an adventurous step, to become the master of the emperor's person little more than a year afterwards. He was led on from one excess to another, till at last, in 1788, he put out the eyes of his unfortunate sovereign, plundered the palace in search of imaginary treasures, and declared an unheeded youth to be the successor of Akber and Aurungzeb. These proceedings facilitated Sindhia's views, nor was his supremacy unwelcome in Delhi after the atrocities of Gholam Qadir and the savage Afghans. His regular administration soon curbed the predatory Sikhs, and instead of allies they found that they would merely be tolerated as dependants or as servants. Raee Singh, the patriarchal chief of Jugadhree, was retained for the time as farmer of considerable districts in the Dooab, and, during ten years, three expeditions of exaction were directed against Putteeala and other states in the province of Sirhind. Putteeala was managed with some degree of prudence by Nanoo Mull, the Hindoo Deewan of the deceased Ummar Singh, but he seems, to have trusted for military support to Bughel Singh, the leader of the Krora Singheea, who contrived to maintain a large body of horse, partly as a judicious mediator, and partly by helping Putteeala in levying contributions on weaker brethren, in aid of the Moghul and Mahratta demands, which could neither be readily met nor prudently resisted.*

General Perron succeeded his countryman De Boigne, in the command of Dowlut Rao Sindhia's

* Manuscript accounts. Compare *Francklin's Shah Alum*, p. 179—185.

largest regular forces, in the year 1797, and he was soon after appointed the Muharaja's deputy in Northern India. His ambition surpassed his powers; but his plans were nevertheless systematic, and he might have temporarily extended his own, or the Mahratta, authority to Lahore, had not Sindhia's influence been endangered by Holkar, and had not Perron's own purposes been crossed by the hostility and success of the adventurer George Thomas. This Englishman was bred to the sea, but an eccentricity of character, or a restless love of change, caused him to desert from a vessel of war at Madras in 1781-82, and to take military service with the petty chiefs of that presidency. He wandered to the north of India, and in 1787 he was employed by the well known Begum Sumroo, and soon rose high in favor with that lady. In six years he became dissatisfied, and entered the service of Apa Kunda Rao, one of Sindhia's principal officers, and under whom De Boigne had formed his first regiments. While in the Mahratta employ, Thomas defeated a party of Sikhs at Kurnal, and he performed various other services; but seeing the distracted state of the country, he formed the not impraticable scheme of establishing a separate authority of his own. He repaired the crumbling walls of the once important Hansee, he assembled soldiers about him, cast guns, and deliberately proceeded to acquire territory. Perron was apprehensive of his power—the more so, perhaps, as Thomas was encouraged by Holkar, and supported by Lukwa Dada and other Mahrattas, who entertained a great jealousy of the French commandant.*

* Francklin's *Life of George Thomas*, P. I. 79, 107 &c., and

In 1799, Thomas invested the town of Jeend, belonging to Bhag Singh, of the Phoolkeea confederacy. The old chief, Bughel Singh Krora Singheea, and the Amazonian sister of the imbecile Raja of Putteeala, relieved the place, but they were repulsed when they attacked Thomas on his retreat to Hansee. In 1800 Thomas took Futtehabad, which had been deserted during the famine of 1783, and subsequently occupied by the predatory Bhuttees of Hurreeana, then rising into local repute, notwithstanding the efforts of the Putteeala chief, who, however, affected to consider them as his subjects, and gave them some aid against Thomas. Putteeala was the next object of Thomas's ambition, and he was encouraged by the temporary secession of the sister of the chief; but the aged Tara Singh of the Dullehwala confederacy, interfered, and Thomas had to act with caution. He obtained, nevertheless, a partial success over Tara Singh, he received the submission of the Puthans of Malerh Kotla, and he was welcomed as a deliverer by the converted Mahometans of Raeekot, who had held Loodiana for some time, and all of whom were equally jealous of the Sikhs. At this time Sahib Singh, a Behdee of the race of Nanuk, pretended to religious inspiration, and, having collected a large force, he invested Loodiana, took the town of Malerh Kotla, and called on the English adventurer to obey him as the true representative of the Sikh prophet. But Sahib Singh could not long impose even on his countrymen, and he had to retire across the

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Major Smith's *Sketch of Regular Corps in the Service of Indian Princes*, p. 118 &c.

Sutlej. Thomas's situation was not greatly improved by the absence of the Behdee, for the combination against him was general, and he retired from the neighborhood of Loodiana towards his stronghold of Hansee. He again took the field, and attacked Sufeedon, an old town belonging to the chief of Jeend. He was repulsed, but the place not appearing tenable, it was evacuated, and he obtained possession of it. At this time he is said to have had ten battalions and sixty guns, and to have possessed a territory yielding about 450,000 rupees, two-thirds of which he held by right of seizure, and one-third as a Mahratta feudatory; but he had rejected all Perron's overtures with suspicion, and Perron was resolved to crush him. Thomas was thus forced to come to terms with the Sikhs, and he wished it to appear that he had engaged them on his side against Perron; but they were really desirous of getting rid of one who plainly designed their ruin, or at least their subjection, and the alacrity of Putteeala in the Mahratta service induced a promise, on the part of the French commander, of the restitution of the conquests of Ummer Singh in Hurreeana. After twice beating back Perron's troops at points sixty miles distant, Thomas was compelled to surrender in the beginning of 1802, and he retired into the British provinces, where he died in the course of the same year.*

Perron had thus far succeeded. His lieutenant, by name Bourquin, made a progress through the Cis-Sutlej states to levy contributions, and the commander

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* See generally *Francklin's Life of Thomas*, and p. 21 &c. of *Major Smith's Sketch of Regular Corps in Indian States*. The

himself dreamt of a dominion reaching to the Afghan hills, and of becoming as independent of Sindhia as that chief was of the Peshwah.* He formed an engagement with Runjeet Singh for a joint expedition to the Indus, and for a partition of the country south of Lahore; † but Holkar had given a rude shock to Sindhia's power, and Perron had long evaded a compliance with the Muharaja's urgent calls for troops to aid him where support was most essential. Sindhia became involved with the English, and the interested hesitation of Perron was punished by his supercession. He was not able, or he did not try, to recover his authority by vigorous military operations; he knew he had committed himself, and he effected his escape from the suspicious Mahrattas to the safety and repose of the British territories, which were then about to be extended by the victories of Delhi and Laswaree, of Assye and Argaum.‡

In the beginning of the eighteenth century, the agents of the infant company of English merchants were vexatiously detained at the imperial court by the insur-

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Sikh accounts attribute many exploits to the sister of the Raja of Putteeala, and among them an expedition into the hill territory of Nahun, the state from which Putteeala wrested the vale of Pinjor, with its hanging gardens, not, however, without the aid of Bourquin, the deputy of Perron.

* Malcolm (*Sketch*, p. 106) considers that Perron could easily have reduced the Sikhs, and mastered the Punjab.

† This alliance is given on the authority of a representation made to the Resident at Delhi, agreeably to his letter to Sir David Ochterloney of 5th July, 1814.

‡ Compare *Major Smith's Account of Regular Corps in Indian States*, p. 31 &c.

rection of the Sikhs under Bunda, and the discreet "factors," who were petitioning for some trading privileges, perhaps witnessed the heroic death of the national *Singhs*, the soldiers of the "Khalsa," without comprehending the spirit evoked by the genius of Govind, and without dreaming of the broad fabric of empire about to be reared on their own patient labours.* Forty years afterwards, the merchant Omichund played a conspicuous part in the revolution which was crowned by the battle of Plassey; but the sectarian *Sikh*, the worldly votary of Nanuk, who used religion as a garb of outward decorum, was outwitted by the audacious falsehood of Clive; he quailed before the stern scorn of the English conqueror, and he perished the victim of his own base avarice.† In 1784 the progress of the

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* See Orme, *History*, ii. 22. &c., and Mill, Wilson's edition, iii. 34. &c. The mission was two years at Delhi, during 1715, 1716, 1717, and the genuine patriotism of Mr. Hamilton, the surgeon of the deputation, mainly contributed to procure the cession of thirty-seven villages near Calcutta, and the exemption from duty of goods protected by English passes. This latter privilege was a turning point in the history of the English in India, for it gave an impulse to trade, which vastly increased the importance of British subjects, if it added little to the profits of the associated merchants.

In the Grunth of Gooroo Govind there are at least four allusions to Europeans, the last referring specially to an Englishman. 1st, in the *Akal Stoot*, Europeans are enumerated among the tribes inhabiting India; 2nd and 3d, in the *Kulkee* chapters of the 24 *Owtars*, apparently in praise of the systematic modes of Europeans; and 4th, in the Persian *Hikayuts*, where both a European and an Englishman appear as champions for the hand of a royal damsel, to be vanquished, of course, by the hero of the tale.

† That Omichund was a Sikh, is given on the authority of

genuine Sikhs attracted the notice of Hastings, and he seems to have thought that the presence of a British agent at the court of Delhi might help to deter them from molesting the Vizier of Oude.* But the Sikhs had learnt to dread others as well as to be a cause of fear, and shortly afterwards they asked the British Resident to enter into a defensive alliance against the Mahrattas, and to accept the services of thirty thousand horsemen, who had posted themselves near Delhi to watch the motions of Sindhia.† The English had then a slight knowledge of a new and distant people, and an estimate, two generations old, may provoke a smile from the protectors of Lahore. "The Sikhs," says Colonel Francklin, "are in their persons tall, ... their aspect is ferocious, and their eyes piercing; . . . . they resemble the Arabs of the Euphrates, but they speak the language of the Afghans; . . . . their collected army amounts to 250,000 men, a terrific force, yet from want of union not much to be dreaded."‡ The judicious and observing Forster put some confidence in similar statements of their vast array, but he estimated more surely than any other early writer, the real character of the Sikhs, and the remark of 1783, that an able chief

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Forster, *Travels*, i. 337. That he died of a broken heart, is doubted by Professor Wilson. (Mills, *India*, iii. 192. note, edition 1840.)

* Brown, *India Tracts*, ii. 29, 30. and *Franklin's Shah Alum*, p. 115, 116.

† Auber's *Rise and Progress of the British Power in India*, ii. 26, 27. The chief who made the overtures was Dooltcha Singh of Rudowr on the Jumna, who afterwards entered Sindhia's service. Compare *Francklin's Shah Alum*, p. 78., note.

‡ Francklin's *Shah Alum*, p. 75, 77, 78.

would probably attain to absolute power on the ruins of the rude commonwealth, and become the terror of his neighbors, has been amply borne out by the career of Runjeet Singh.*

The battle of Delhi was fought on the 11th September, 1803, and five thousand Sikhs swelled an army which the speedy capture of Allygurh had taken by surprise.† The Mahrattas were overthrown, and the Sikhs dispersed, but the latter soon afterwards tendered their allegiance to the British commander. Among the more important chiefs whose alliance, or whose occasional services were accepted, were Bhaee Lal Singh of Kythul, who had witnessed the success of Lord Lake, Bhag Singh the patriarchal chief of Jeend, and, after a time, Bhungga Singh the savage master of Thunehsir.‡ The victory of Laswaree was fought within two months, and the Mahratta power seemed to be annihilated in Northern India. The old blind emperor Shah Alum was again flattered with the semblance of kingly power, his pride was soothed by the demeanor of the conqueror, and, as the Moghul name was still imposing, the feelings of the free but loyal soldier were doubtless gratified by the bestowal of a title which declared an English nobleman to be "the sword of the state" of the great Tamerlane.§

The enterprising Jeswunt Rao Holkar, had by this time determined on the invasion of Upper India, and the

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* Forster's *Travels*, ii. 340 See also p. 324, where he says the Sikhs had raised in the Punjab a solid structure of religion.

† Major Smith's *Account of Regular Corps in Indian States*, p. 34

‡ Manuscript Memoranda of Personal Inquiries.

§ Mill's *History of British India*, Wilson's edition, vi. 510.

retreat of Colonel Monson buoyed him up with hopes of victory and dominion. Delhi was invested, and the Dooab was filled with troops; but the successful defence of the capital by Sir David Ochterloney, and the reverse of Deeg, drove the great marauder back into Rajpootana. During these operations a British detachment under Colonel Burn, was hard pressed at Shamlee, near Seharunpoor, and the opportune assistance of Lal Singh of Kythul and Bhag Singh of Jeend, contributed to its ultimate relief.* The same Sikh chiefs deserved and received the thanks of Lord Lake for attacking and killing one Eeka Rao, a Mahratta commander who had taken up a position between Delhi and Puneeput; but others were disposed to adhere to their sometime allies, and Sher Singh of Booreea fell in action with Colonel Burn, and the conduct of Goordut Singh of Ladwa induced the British general to deprive him of his villages in the Dooab, and of the town of Kurnal.†

In 1805, Holkar and Ameer Khan again moved northward, and proclaimed that they would be joined by the Sikhs, and even by the Afghans; but the rapid movements of Lord Lake converted their advance into a retreat or a flight. They delayed some time at Putteeala, and they did not fail to make a pecuniary profit

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* Manuscript memoranda. Both this aid in 1804, and the opposition of the Sikhs at Delhi, in 1803, seem to have escaped the notice of English observers, or to have been thought undeserving of record by English historians. (*Mill's History*, vi. 503, 592, edition 1840.)

† Manuscript memoranda of written documents and of personal inquiries.

out of the differences then existing between the imbecile Raja and his wife ;* but when the English army reached the neighborhood of Kurnal, Holkar continued his retreat towards the north, levying contributions where he could, but without being joined by any of the Sikh chiefs of the Cis-Sutlej states. In the Punjab itself, he is represented to have induced some to adopt his cause, but Runjeet Singh long kept aloof, and when at last he met Holkar at Amritsir, the astute young chief wanted aid in reducing Kussoor before he would give the Mahrattas any assistance against the English. Ameer Khan would wish it to be believed, that *he* was unwilling to be a party to an attack upon good Mahometans, and it is certain that the perplexed Jeswunt Rao talked of hurrying on to Peshawur; but Lord Lake was in force on the banks of the Beeas, the political demands of the British commander were moderate, and on the 24th December, 1805, an arrangement was come to, which allowed Holkar to return quietly to Central India.†

Lord Lake was joined on his advance by the two chiefs, Lal Singh and Bhag Singh, whose services have already been mentioned, and at Putteeala he was welcomed by the weak and inoffensive Sahib Singh, who presented the keys of his citadel, and expatiated on his

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* Ameer Khan, in his *Memoirs* (p. 276.), says characteristically, that Holkar remarked to him, on observing the silly differences between the Raja and the Ranee, "God has assuredly sent us these two pigeons to pluck ; do you espouse the cause of the one, while I take up with the other."

† Compare *Ameer Khan's Memoirs*, p. 275., and *Murray's Runjeet Singh*, p. 57. &c.

devotion to the British government. Bhag Singh was the maternal uncle of Runjeet Singh, and his services were not unimportant in determining that calculating leader to avoid an encounter with disciplined battalions and a trained artillery. Runjeet Singh is believed to have visited the British camp in disguise, that he might himself witness the military array of a leader who had successively vanquished both Sindhia and Holkar,* and he was, moreover, too acute to see any permanent advantage in linking his fortunes with those of men reduced to the condition of fugitives. Futteh Singh Alhoowaleea, the grand nephew of Jussa Singh Kullal, and the chosen companion of the future Muharaja, was the medium of intercourse, and an arrangement was soon entered into, with "Sirdars" Runjeet Singh and Futteh Singh jointly, which provided that Holkar should be compelled to retire from Amritsir, and that so long as the two chiefs conducted themselves as friends, the English government would never form any plans for the seizure of their territories.† Lord Lake entered into a friendly correspondence with Sunsar Chund, of Kototch, who was imitating Runjeet Singh by bringing the petty hill chiefs under subjection; but no engagement was entered into, and the British commander returned to the provinces by the road of Ambala and Kurnal.‡

The connection of Lord Lake with many of the Sikh

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* See Moorcroft, *Travels*, i. 102.

† See the treaty itself, Appendix VII.

‡ The public records show that a newswriter was maintained for some time in Kototch, and the correspondence about Sunsar Chund leaves the impression that Runjeet Singh could never

chiefs of Sirhind had been intimate, and the services of some had been opportune and valuable. Immediately after the battle of Delhi, Bhag Singh of Jeend, was upheld in a jagheer which he possessed near that city, and in 1804 another estate was conferred jointly on him and his friend Lal Singh of Kythul. In 1806, these leaders were further rewarded with life grants, yielding about 11,000*l.* a year, and Lord Lake was understood to be willing to have given them the districts of Hansee and Hissar on the same terms; but these almost desert tracts were objected to as unprofitable. Other petty chiefs received rewards corresponding with their services, and all were assured that they should continue to enjoy the territorial possessions which they held at the time of British interference, without being liable to the payment of tribute. These declarations or arrangements were made when the policy of Lord Wellesley was suffering under condemnation; the reign of the English was to be limited by the Jumna, a formal treaty with Jeypoor was abrogated, the relations of the Indian government with Bhurtpoor were left doubtful and, although nothing was made known to the Sikh chiefs of Sirhind, their connection with the English came virtually to an end, so far as regarded the reciprocal benefits of alliance.*

wholly forget the Raja's original superiority, nor the English divest themselves of a feeling that he was independent of Lahore.

* The original grants to Jeend, and Kythul, and others and also similar papers of assurance, are carefully preserved by the several families; and the various English documents show that Bhag Singh, of Jeend, was always regarded with much kindliness by Lord Lake, Sir John Malcolm, and Sir David Ochterloney.

It is now necessary to return to Runjeet Singh, whose authority had gradually become predominant among the Sikh people. His first object was to master Lahore from the incapable chiefs of the Bunghee confederacy who possessed it, and before Shah Zuman had been many months gone, effect was given to his grant by a dexterous mixture of force and artifice. Runjeet Singh made Lahore his capital, and, with the aid of the Kuneia (or Gunnee) confederacy, he easily reduced the whole of the Bunghees to submission, although they were aided by Nizamooddeen Khan, of Kussoor. In 1801-2 the Puthan had to repent his rashness; his strongholds were difficult of capture, but he found it prudent to become a feudatory, and to send his best men to follow a new master. After this success Runjeet Singh went to bathe in the holy pool of Turrun Tarun, and, meeting with Futteh Singh Alhoowaleea, he conceived a friendship for him, as has been mentioned, and went through a formal exchange of turbans, symbolical of brotherhood. During 1802 the allies took Amritsir from the widow of the last Bunghee leader of note, and, of their joint spoil, it fell to the share of the master of the other capital of the Sikh country. In 1803, Sunsar Chund, of Kototch, in prosecution of his schemes of aggrandizement, made two attempts to occupy portions of the fertile Dooab of Jalundhur, but he was repulsed by Runjeet Singh and his confederate. In 1804 Sunsar Chund again quitted his hills, and captured Hosheearpoor and Bijwara; but Runjeet Singh's approach once more compelled him to retreat, and he soon afterwards became involved with the Goorkhas, a new people in search of an

empire which should comprise the whole range of Himmala.*

In little more than a year after Shah Zuman quitted the Punjab, he was deposed and blinded by his brother Mehmood, who was in his turn supplanted by a third brother, Shah Shooja, in the year 1803. These revolutions hastened the fall of the exotic empire of Ahmed Shah, and Runjeet Singh was not slow to try his arms against the weakened Dooranee governors of districts and provinces. In 1804-5 he marched to the westward;

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* Compare *Murray's Runjeet Singh*, p. 51, 55.

Captain Murray, the political agent at Ambala, and Captain Wade, the political agent at Loodiana, each wrote a narrative of the life of Runjeet Singh, and that of the former was printed in 1834, with a few corrections and additions, and some notes, by Mr. Thoby Prinsep, secretary to the Indian Government. The author has not seen Captain Wade's report, or narrative, but he believes that it, even in a greater degree than Captain Murray's, was founded on personal recollections and on oral report, rather than on contemporary English documents, which reflected the opinions of the times, and which existed in sufficient abundance after 1803 especially. The two narratives in question were, indeed, mainly prepared from accounts drawn up by intelligent Indians, at the requisition of the English functionaries, and of these the chronicles f Boota Shah, a Mahometan, and Sohun Lal, a Hindoo, are the best known, and may be had for purchase. The inquiries of Capt. Wade, in especial, were extensive, and to both officers the public is indebted for the preservation of a continuous narrative of Runjeet Singh's actions.

The latter portion of the present chapter, and also chapters vi. and vii. follow very closely the author's narratives of the British connection with the Sikhs, drawn up for Government, a use which he trusts may be made, without any impropriety, of an unprinted Peper of his own writing.

he received homage and presents from the Mahometans of Jhung and Saheewal, and Mozuffer Khan, of Mooltan, successfully deprecated an attack by rich offerings. Runjeet Singh had felt his way and was satisfied; he returned to Lahore, celebrated the festival of the Holee in his capital, and then went to bathe the Ganges at Hurdwar, or to observe personally the aspect of affairs to the eastward of the Punjab. Towards the close of 1805, he made another western inroad, and added weight to the fetters already imposed on the proprietor of Jhung; but the approach of Holkar and Ameer Khan recalled, first, Futteh Singh, and afterwards himself, to the proper city of the whole Sikh people. The danger seemed imminent, for a famed leader of the dominant Mahrattas was desirous of bringing down an Afghan host, and the English army, exact in discipline, and representing a power of unknown views and resources, had reached the neighborhood of Amritsir.*

A formal council was held by the Sikhs; but a portion only of their leaders were present. The singleness of purpose, the confident belief in the aid of God, which had animated mechanics and shepherds to resent persecution, and to triumph over Ahmed Shah, no longer possessed the minds of their descendants, born to comparative power and affluence, and who, like rude and ignorant men broken loose from all law, gave the rein to their grosser passions. Their ambition was personal and their desire was for worldly enjoyment. The genuine

* See *Elphinstone's Caubul*, ii. 325. and *Murray's Runjeet Singh*, p. 56, 57.

spirit of Sikhism had again sought the dwelling of the peasant to reproduce itself in another form ; the rude system of mixed independence and confederacy, was unsuited to an extended dominion ; it had served its ends of immediate agglomeration, and the "Misls" were in effect dissolved. The mass of the people remained satisfied with their village freedom, to which taxation and inquisition were unknown ; but the petty chiefs and their paid followers, to whom their faith was the mere expression of a conventional custom, were anxious for predatory licence, and for additions to their temporal power. Some were willing to join the English, others were ready to link their fortunes with the Mahrattas, and all had become jealous of Runjeet Singh, who alone was desirous of excluding the stranger invaders, as the great obstacles to his own ambition of founding a military monarchy which should ensure to the people the congenial occupation of conquest. In truth, Runjeet Singh labored, with more or less of intelligent design, to give unity and coherence to diverse atoms and scattered elements; to mould the increasing Sikh nation into a well-ordered state, or commonwealth, as Govind had developed a sect into a people, and had given application and purpose to the general institutions of Nanuk.*

Holkar retired, and Runjeet Singh, as has been mentioned, entered into a vague but friendly alliance with the British Government. Towards the close of the same year, he was invited to interfere in a quarrel

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* Malcolm (*Sketch*, p. 106, 107.) remarks on the want of unanimity among the Sikhs at the time of Lord Lake's expedition. Compare *Murray's Runjeet Singh*, p. 57, 58.

between the chief of Naba and the raja of Putteeala, and it would be curious to trace, whether the English authorities had first refused to mediate in the dispute in consequence of the repeated instructions to avoid all connection with powers beyond the Jumna. Runjeet Singh crossed the Sutlej, and took Loodiana from the declining Mahometan family which had sought the protection of the adventurer George Thomas. The place was bestowed upon his uncle, Bhag Singh of Jeend, and as both Jeswunt Singh of Naba, whom he had gone to aid, and Sahib Singh of Putteeala, whom he had gone to coerce, were glad to be rid of his destructive arbitration, he retired with the present of a piece of artillery and some treasure, and went towards the hills of Kanggra, partly that he might pay his superstitious devotions at the natural flames of Jowala Mookhee.*

At this time the unscrupulous ambition of Sunsar Chund of Kototch had brought him into fatal collision with the Goorkhas. That able chief might have given life to a confederacy against the common enemies of all the old mountain principalities, who were already levying tribute in Gurhwal: but Sunsar Chand, in his desire for supremacy, had reduced the chief of Kuhloor,

* See *Murray's Runjeet Singh*, p. 59, 60. The letter of Sir Charles Metcalfe to Government, of the 17th June, 1809, shows that Runjeet Singh was not strong enough at the time in question, 1806, to interfere, by open force, in the affairs of the Malwa Sikhs, and the letters of Sir David Ochterloney, of 14th Feb., and 7th March, 1809, and 30th July, 1811, show that the English engagements of 1805, with the Putteeala and other chiefs, were virtually at an end, so far as regarded the reciprocal benefits of alliance.

or Belaspoor, to the desperate expedient of throwing himself on the support of the Nepal commander. Ummer Singh Thapa gladly advanced, and, notwithstanding the gallant resistance offered by the young chief of Nalagurh, Sunsar Chund's co-adjutor in his own aggressions, the Goorkha authority was introduced between the Sutlej and Jumna before the end of 1805, during which year Ummer Singh crossed the former river and laid siege to Kanggra. At the period of Runjeet Singh's visit to Jowala Mookhee, Sunsar Chund was willing to obtain his aid; but, as the fort was strong and the sacrifices required considerable, he was induced to trust to his own resources, and no arrangement was then come to for the expulsion of the new enemy.*

In 1807, Runjeet Singh first directed his attention to Kussoor, which was again rebellious, and the relative independence of which caused him disquietude, although its able chief, Nizamooddeen, had been dead for some time; nor was he, perhaps, without a feeling that the reduction of a large colony of Puthans, and the

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* Compare *Murray's Runjeet Singh*, p. 60, and *Moorcroft's Travels*, i. 127, &c.

Sunsar Chund attributed his overthrow by the Goorkhas, to his dismissal of his old Rajpoot troops and employment of Afghans at the instigation of the fugitive Rohilla chief, Gholam Mahomed, who had sought an asylum with him.

The Goorkhas crossed the Jumna to aid the chief of Nahun against his subjects, and they crossed the Sutlej to aid one Rajpoot prince against another—paths always open to new and united races. References in public records show that the latter river was crossed in 1803 A. D.

annexation of the mythological rival of Lahore, would add to his own merit and importance. The place was invested by Runjeet Singh, and by Jodh Singh Ramgurheea, the son of his father's old ally, Jussa the Carpenter. Want of unity weakened the resistance of the then chief, Kootuboodden, and at the end of a month he surrendered at discretion, and received a tract of land on the opposite side of the Sutlej for his maintenance. Runjeet Singh afterwards proceeded towards Mooltan, and succeeded in capturing the walled town; but the citadel resisted such efforts as he was able to make, and he was perhaps glad that the payment of a sum of money enabled him to retire with credit; he was, nevertheless, unwilling to admit his failure, and in the communications which he then held with the Nuwab of Buhawulpoor, the ready improver of opportunities endeavored to impress that chief with the belief, that a regard for him alone had caused the Afghan governor to be left in possession of his stronghold.*

During the same year, 1807, Runjeet Singh took into his employ a Khutree, named Mohkum Chund, an able man, who fully justified the confidence reposed in him. With this new servant in his train he proceeded to interfere in the dissensions between the Raja of Putteeala and his intriguing wife, which were as lucrative to the master of Lahore as they had before been to Holkar and Ameer Khan. The Ranee wished to force from the weak husband a large assignment for the support of her infant son, and she tempted Runjeet

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* Murray's *Runjeet Singh*, p. 60, 61, and the manuscript memoirs of the Buhawulpoor family.

Singh, by the offer of a necklace of diamonds and a piece of brass ordnance, to espouse her cause. He crossed the Sutlej, and decreed to the boy a maintenance of 50,000 rupees per annum. He then attacked Nurayengurh, between Ambala and the hills, and held by a family of Rajpoots, but he only secured it after a repulse and a heavy loss. Tara Singh, the old chief of the Dullehwala confederacy, who was with the Lahore force on this occasion, died before Nurayengurh, and Runjeet Singh hastened back to secure his possessions in the Julundhur Dooab. The widow of the aged leader equalled the sister of the Raja of Putteeala in spirit, and she is described to have girded up her garments and to have fought, sword in hand, on the battered walls of the fort of Rahoon.*

In the beginning of 1808, various dlaces in the Upper Punjab were taken from their independent Sikh proprietors, and brought under the direct management of the new kingdom of Lahore, and Mohkum Chund was at the same time employed in effecting a settlement of the territories which had been seized on the left bank of the Sutlej. But Runjeet Singh's systematic aggressions had begun to excite fear in the minds of the Sikhs of Sirhind, and a formal deputation, consisting of the chiefs of Jeend and Kythul, and the Deewan, or minister of Putteeala, proceeded to Delhi, in March 1808, to ask for British protection. The communications of the English Government with the chiefs of the Cis-Sutlej

* Compare *Murray's Runjeet Singh*, p. 61, 63. The gun obtained by Runjeet Singh from Putteeala, on this occasion, was named Kuree Khan, and was captured by the English, during the campaign of 1845-46.

states had not been altogether broken off, and the Governor-General had at this time assured the Mahometan Khan of Koonjpoora, near Kurnal,* that he need be under no apprehensions with regard to his hereditary possessions, while the petty Sikh chief of Seekree had performed some services which were deemed worthy of a pension.† But the deputies of the collective states could obtain no positive assurances from the British authorities at Delhi, although they were led to hope that, in the hour of need, they would not be deserted. This was scarcely sufficient to save them from loss, and perhaps from ruin; and, as Runjeet Singh had sent messengers to calm their apprehensions, and to urge them to join his camp, they left Delhi for the purpose of making their own terms with the acknowledged Raja of Lahore ‡

The Governor-General of 1805, who dissolved, or deprecated, treaties with princes beyond the Jumna, and declared that river to be the limit of British dominion, had no personal knowledge of the hopes and fears with which the invasions of Shah Zuman agitated the minds of men for the period of three or four years; and had the Sikhs of Sirhind sought protection from Lord Cornwallis, they would doubtless have received a decisive answer in the negative. But the reply of encouragement given in the beginning of 1808 was prompted by renewed danger; and the belief that the

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* In a document, dated 18th January, 1808.

† Mr. Clerk of Ambala to the agent at Delhi, 19th May, 1837.

‡ See *Murray's Runjeet Singh*, p. 64, 65.

French, the Turkish, and the Persian emperors meditated the subjugation of India, led another new Governor-General to seek alliances, not only beyond the Jumna, but beyond the Indus.* The designs or the desires of Napoleon appeared to render a defensive alliance with the Afghans and with the Sikhs imperative; Mr. Elphinstone was deputed to the court of Shah Shooja, and, in September 1808, Mr. Metcalfe was sent on a mission to Runjeet Singh for the purpose of bringing about the desired confederation. The chiefs of Putteeala, Jeend, and Kythul, were also verbally assured that they had become dependent princes of the British Government; for the progress of Runjeet Singh seemed to render the interposition of some friendly states, between his military domination and the peaceful sway of the English, a measure of prudence and foresight.†

Mr. Metcalfe was received by Runjeet Singh at his newly conquered town of Kussoor, but the chief affected to consider himself as the head of the whole Sikh people, and to regard the possession of Lahore as giving him an additional claim to supremacy over Sirhind. He did not, perhaps, see that a French invasion would be ruinous to *his* interests, he rather feared the colossal power on his borders, and he resented the intention of

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* Mr. Auber (*Rise and Progress of the British Power in India*, ii. 461.), notices the *triple* alliance which threatened Hindostan.

† Government to Sir David Ochterloney, 14th Nov. 1808. Compare *Murray's Runjeet Singh*, p. 65, 66.

confining him to the Sutlej.* He suddenly broke off negotiations, and made his third inroad to the south of the Sutlej. He seized Fureedkot and Ambala, levied exactions in Malerh Kotla and Thunehsir, and entered into a symbolical brotherhood or alliance with the Raja of Putteeala. The British envoy remonstrated against these virtual acts of hostility, and he remained on the banks of the Sutlej until Runjeet Singh recrossed that river.†

The proceedings of the ruler of Lahore determined the Governor-General, if doubtful before, to advance a detachment of troops to the Sutlej, to support Mr. Metcalfe in his negotiations, and to effectually confine Runjeet Singh to the northward of that river.‡ Provision would also be thus made, it was said, for possible warlike operations of a more extensive character, and the British frontier would be covered by a confederacy of friendly chiefs, instead of threatened by a hostile military government. A body of troops was accordingly moved across the Jumna in January 1809, under the command of Sir David Ochterloney. The general advanced, by way of Booreea and Putteeala, towards Loodiana; he was welcomed by all the Sirhind chiefs, save Jodh Singh Kulseea, the nominal head of the Krora-Singheea confederacy: but during his march he

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* Moorcroft ascertained (*Travels*, i. 94) that Runjeet Singh had serious thoughts of appealing to the sword, so unpalatable was English interference. The well-known Fukeer Uzeezooddeen was one of the two persons who dissuaded him from war.

† Murray's *Runjeet Singh*, p. 66.

‡ Government to Sir David Ochterloney, 14th Nov. and 29th Dec., 1808.

was not without apprehensions that Runjeet Singh might openly break with his government, and, after an interview with certain agents whom that chief had sent to him with the view of opening a double negotiation, he made a detour and a halt, in order to be near his supplies should hostilities take place.*

Runjeet Singh was somewhat discomposed by the near presence of a British force, but he continued to evade compliance with the propositions of the envoy, and he complained that Mr. Metcalfe was needlessly reserved about his acquisitions on the south banks of the Sutlej, with regard to which the Government had only declared that the restoration of his last conquests, and the absolute withdrawal of his troops to the northward of the river, must form the indispensable basis of further negotiations.† Affairs were in this way when intelligence from Europe induced the Governor-General to believe that Napoleon must abandon his designs upon India, or at least so far suspend them as to render

* Sir David Ochterloney to Government, 20th Jan., and 4th, 9th, and 14th Feb., 1809, with Government to Sir David Ochterloney, of 13th March, 1809. Government by no means approved of what Sir David Ochterloney had done, and he, feeling aggrieved, virtually tendered his resignation of his command. (Sir David Ochterloney to Government, 19th April, 1809.)

† Sir D. Ochterloney to Government, 14th Feb. 1809, and Government to Sir D. Ochterloney, 30th July, 1809. Lieut.-Colonel Lawrence (*Adventures in the Punjab*, p. 131, note *g*) makes Sir Charles Metcalfe sufficiently communicative on this occasion with regard to other territories, for he is declared to have told the Muharaja that, by a compliance with the then demands of the English, he would ensure them neutrality with respect to encroachments elsewhere.

defensive precautions unnecessary.* It was therefore made known, that the object of the English Government had become limited to the security of the country south of the Sutlej from the incroachments of Runjeet Singh ; for that, independent of the possible approach of a European enemy, it was considered advisable on other grounds to afford protection to the southern Sikhs. Runjeet Singh must still, nevertheless, withdraw his troops to the right bank of the Sutlej, his last usurpations must also be restored, but the restitution of his first conquests would not be insisted on ; while, to remove all cause of suspicion, the detachment under Sir David Ochterloney could fall back from Loodiana to Kurnal, and take up its permanent position at the latter place.† But the British commander represented the advantage of keeping the force where it was ; his Government assented to its detention, at least for a time, and Loodiana thus continued uninterruptedly to form a station for British troops.‡

In the beginning of February 1809, Sir David Ochterloney had issued a proclamation declaring the Cis-Sutlej states to be under British protection, and that any aggressions of the Chief of Lahore would be resisted with arms.§ Runjeet Singh then perceived that the British authorities were in earnest, and the fear struck him that the still independent leaders of the

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* Government to Sir David Ochterloney, 30th Jan., 1809.

† Government to Sir David Ochterloney, 30th Jan., 6th Feb., and 13th March, 1809.

‡ Sir David Ochterloney to Government, 6th May, 1809. and Government to Sir David Ochterloney, 13th June, 1809.

§ See Appendix, No. VIII.

Punjab might likewise tender their allegiance and have it accepted. All chance of empire would thus be lost, and he prudently made up his mind without further delay. He withdrew his troops as required, he relinquished his last acquisitions, and at Amritsir, on the 25th April 1809, the now single Chief of Lahore signed a treaty which left him the master of the tracts he had originally occupied to the south of the Sutlej, but confined his ambition for the future to the north and westward of that river.*

The Sikh, and the few included Hindoo and Mahometan chiefs, between the Sutlej and Jumna, having been taken under British protection, it became necessary to define the terms on which they were secured from foreign danger. Sir David Ochterloney observed,† that when the chiefs first sought protection, their jealousy of the English would have yielded to their fears of Runjeet Singh, and they would have agreed to any conditions proposed, including a regular tribute. But their first overtures had been rejected, and the mission to Lahore had taught them to regard *their* defence as a secondary object, and to think that *English* apprehensions of remote foreigners had saved *them* from the arbiter of the Punjab. Protection, indeed, had become no longer a matter of choice; they must have accepted it, or they would have been treated as enemies.‡

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* See the treaty itself, Appendix, No. IX. Compare *Murray's Runjeet Singh*, p. 67, 68.

† Sir David Ochterloney to Government, 17th March, 1809.

‡ See also Government to Resident at Delhi, 26th Dec. 1808. Baron Hugel (*Travels* p. 279) likewise attributes the interference of the English, in part at least, to selfishness, but

Wherefore, continued Sir David, the chiefs expected that the protection would be gratuitous. The Government, on its part, was inclined to be liberal to its new dependents, and finally a proclamation was issued on the 3rd May, 1809, guaranteeing the chiefs of "Sirhind and Malwa" against the power of Runjeet Singh, leaving them absolute in their own territories, exempting them from tribute, but requiring assistance in time of war, and making some minor provisions which need not be recapitulated.*

No sooner were the chiefs relieved of their fears of Runjeet Singh, than the more turbulent began to prey upon one another, or upon their weaker neighbors; and, although the Governor-General had not wished them to consider themselves as in absolute subjection to the British power,† Mr. Metcalfe pointed out ‡ that it was necessary to declare the chiefs to be protected singly against one another, as well as collectively against Runjeet Singh; for, if such a degree of security were not guaranteed, the oppressed would necessarily have recourse to the only other person who could use coercion with effect, viz. to the Raja of Lahore. The justness of these views was admitted, and, on the 22d August, 1811, a second proclamation was issued,

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with him the motive was the petty desire of benefiting by escheats, which the dissipated character of the chiefs was likely to render speedy and numerous! This appetite for morsels of territory, however, really arose at a subsequent date, and did not move the English in 1809.

* Appendix No. X.

† Government to Sir David Ochterloney, 10th April, 1809.

‡ Mr. Metcalfe to Government, 17th June, 1809.

warning the chiefs against attempts at usurpation, and reassuring them of independence and of protection against Runjeet Singh.* Nevertheless, encroachments did not at once cease, and the Jodh Singh Kulseea, who avoided giving in his adhesion to the British Government on the advance of Sir David Ochterloney, required to have troops sent against him in 1818, to compel the surrender of tracts which he had forcibly seized.†

The history of the southern or Malwa Sikhs need not be continued, although it presents many points of interest to the general reader, as well as to the student and to those concerned in the administration of India. The British functionaries soon became involved in intricate questions about interference between equal chiefs, and between chiefs and their confederates or dependents; they labored to reconcile the Hindoo laws of inheritance with the varied customs of different races, and with the alleged family usages of peasants suddenly become princes. They had to decide on questions of escheat, and being strongly impressed with the superiority

* See the proclamation, Appendix, No. XI.

† Resident at Delhi to Agent at Ambala, 27th Oct. 1818, mulcting the chief in the military expenses incurred, 65,000 rupees. The head of the family, Jodh Singh, had recently returned with Runjeet Singh's army from the capture of Mooltan, and he was always treated with consideration by the Muharaja; and, bearing in mind the different views taken by dependent Sikhs and governing English, of rights of succession, he had fair grounds of dissatisfaction. He claimed to be the head of the "Krora Singheea" Misl, and to be the heir of all childless feudatories. The British Government, however, made itself the valid or efficient head of the confederacy

of British municipal rule, and with the undoubted claim of the paramount to some benefit from the protection it afforded, they strove to prove that collateral heirs had a limited right only, and that exemption from tribute necessarily implied an enlarged liability to confiscation. They had to define the common boundary of the Sikh states and of British rule, and they were prone to show, after the manner of Runjeet Singh, that the present possession of a principal town gave a right to all the villages which had ever been attached to it as the seat of a local authority, and that all waste lands belonged to the supreme power, although the dependent might have last possessed them in sovereignty and intermediately brought them under the plough. They had to exercise a paramount municipal control, and in the surrender of criminals, and in the demand for compensation for property stolen from British subjects, the original arbitrary nature of the decisions enforced, has not yet been entirely replaced by rules of reciprocity. But the government of a large empire will always be open to obloquy, and liable to misconception, from the acts of officious and ill-judging servants, who think that they best serve the complicated interests of their own rulers by lessening the material power of others, and that any advantage they may seem to have gained for the state they obey, will surely promote their own objects Nor, in such matters, are servants alone to blame; and the whole system of internal government in India requires to be remodelled, and made the subject of a legislation at once wise, considerate, and comprehensive. In the Sikh states ignorance has been the main cause of mistakes and heart burnings, and in 1818 Sir David Och-

terloney frankly owned to the Marquis of Hastings,* that his proclamation of 1809 had been based on an erroneous idea. He thought that a few great chiefs only existed between the Sutlej and Jumna, and that on them would devolve the maintenance of order; whereas he found that the dissolution of the "Misls," faulty as was their formation, had almost thrown the Sikhs back upon the individual independence of the times of Ahmed Shah. Both in considering the relation of the chiefs to one another, and their relation collectively to the British Government, too little regard was perhaps had to the peculiar circumstances of the Sikh people. They were in a state of progression among races as barbarous as themselves, when suddenly the colossal power of England arrested them, and required the exercise of political moderation and the practice of a just morality from men ignorant alike of despotic control and of regulated freedom.†

* In a private communication, dated 17th May, 1818.

† In the Sikh states on either side of the Sutlej, the British Government was long fortunate in being represented by such men as Capt. Murray and Mr. Clerk, Sir David Ochterloney and Lieut.-Colonel Wade—so different from one another, and yet so useful to one common purpose of good for the English power. These men, by their personal character or influence, added to the general reputation of their countrymen, and they gave adaptation and flexibility to the rigid unsympathising nature of a foreign and civilised supremacy. Sir David Ochterloney will long live in the memory of the people of Northern India as one of the greatest of the conquering English chiefs; and he was among the very last of the British leaders who endeared himself, both to the army which followed him and to the princes who bowed before the colossal power of his race.

Nevertheless, the best of subordinate authorities, immersed in details and occupied with local affairs, are liable to be biassed by views which promise immediate and special advantage. They can seldom be more than upright or dexterous administrators, and they can still more rarely be men whose minds have been enlarged by study and reflection as well as by actual experience of the world. Thus the ablest but too often resemble merely the practical man of the moment ; while the supreme authority, especially when absent from his councillors and intent upon some great undertaking, is of necessity dependent mainly upon the local representatives of the Government, whose notions must inevitably be partial or one-sided, for good, indeed, as well as for evil. The author has thus, even during his short service, seen many reasons to be thankful that there is a remote deliberative or corrective body, which can survey things through an atmosphere cleared of mists, and which can judge of measures with reference both to the universal principles of justice and statesmanship, and to their particular bearing on the English supremacy in India, which should be characterised by certainty and consistency of operation, and tempered by a spirit of forbearance and adaptation.

CHAPTER VI.

FROM THE SUPREMACY OF RUNJEET SINGH TO THE REDUCTION OF MOOLTAN, CASHMEER, AND PESHAWUR.

1809—1823-24.

Mutual distrust of Runjeet Singh and the English gradually removed.—Runjeet Singh and the Goorkhas.—Runjeet Singh and the Ex-kings of Caubul.—Runjeet Singh and Futteh Khan, the Caubul Vuzeer.—Runjeet Singh and Shah Shooja each fail against Cashmeer.—Futteh Khan put to death.—Runjeet Singh captures Mooltan, overruns Peshawur, occupies Cashmeer, and annexes the "Derajat" of the Indus to his dominions.—The Afghans defeated, and Peshawur brought regularly under tribute.—Death of Mahomed Azeem Khan of Caubul, and of Sunsar Chund of Kototch.—Runjeet Singh's power consolidated.—Shah Shooja's expedition of 1818-21.—*Appa Sahib of Nagpoor.—The traveller Moorcroft.—Runjeet Singh's Government.—The Sikh Army.—The Sikhs and other military tribes.—French officers.—Runjeet Singh's family.—Runjeet Singh's failings and Sikh vices.—Runjeet Singh's personal favorites and trusted servants.*

A TREATY of peace and friendship was thus formed between Runjeet Singh and the English Government; but confidence is a plant of slow growth, and doubt and suspicion are not always removed by formal protestations. While arrangements were pending with the

Muharaja, the British authorities were assured that he had made propositions to Sindhia ;* agents from Gwalior, from Holkar, and from Ameer Khan,† continued to show themselves for years at Lahore, and their masters long dwelt on the hope that the tribes of the Punjab and of the Deccan, might yet be united against the stranger conquerors. It was further believed by the English rulers, that Runjeet Singh was anxiously trying to induce the Sikhs of Sirhind to throw off their allegiance, and to join him and Holkar against their protectors.‡ Other special instances might also be quoted, and Sir David Ochterloney even thought it prudent to lay in supplies and to throw up defensive lines at Loodiana.§ Runjeet Singh had likewise *his* suspicions, but they were necessarily expressed in ambiguous terms, and were rather to be deduced from his acts and correspondence, and from a consideration of his position, than to be looked for in overt statements or remonstrances. By degrees the apprehensions of the two governments mutually vanished, and, while Runjeet Singh felt he could freely exercise his ambition beyond the Sutlej, the English were persuaded he would not embroil himself with its restless allies in the south, so long as he had occupation elsewhere. In 1811 presents were exchanged between the Governor-Gene-

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* Resident at Delhi to Sir David Ochterloney, 28th June, 1809.

† Sir D. Ochterloney to Government, 15th Oct., 1809; 5th, 6th, and 7th Dec. 1809; and 5th and 30th Jan., and 22nd Aug. 1810.

‡ Sir D. Ochterloney to Government, 5th Jan. 1810.

§ Sir D. Ochterloney to Government, 31st Dec. 1809, and 7th Sept. 1810.

ral and the Muharaja,* and during the following year Sir David Ochterloney became his guest at the marriage of his son, Khurruk Singh,† and from that period until within a year of the late war, the rumors of a Sikh invasion served to amuse the idle and to alarm the credulous, without causing uneasiness to the British viceroy.

On the departure of Mr. Metcalfe, the first care of Runjeet Singh was to strengthen both his frontier post of Filor opposite Loodiana, and Govindgurh the citadel of Amritsir, which he had begun to build as soon as he got possession of the religious capital of his people.‡ He was invited, almost at the same time, by Sunsar Chund, of Kototch, to aid in resisting the Goorkhas, who were still pressing their long continued siege of Kanggra, and who had effectually dispelled the Rajpoot prince's dreams of a supremacy reaching from the Jumna to the Jehlum. The stronghold was offered to the Sikh ruler as the price of his assistance, but Sunsar Chund hoped, in the meantime, to gain admittance himself, by showing to the Goorkhas the futility of resisting Runjeet Singh, and by promising to surrender the fort to the Nepal commander, if allowed to withdraw his family. The Muharaja saw through the schemes of Sunsar Chund, and he made the son of his ally a prisoner, while he dexterously cajoled the

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* A carriage was at this time sent to Lahore. See, further, Resident of Delhi to Sir D. Ochterloney, 25th Feb. 1811, and Sir D. Ochterloney to Government, 15th Nov. 1811.

† Sir D. Ochterloney to Government, 18th July, 1811, and 23d January, 1812.

‡ Compare *Murray's Runjeet Singh*, p. 76.

Kathmandoo general. Ummer Singh Thapa, who proposed a joint warfare against the mountaineers, and to take, or receive, in the meantime, the fort of Kanggra as part of the *Goorkha* share of the general spoil. He got possession of the place by suddenly demanding admittance as the expected relief. Sunsar Chund was foiled, and Ummer Singh retreated across the Sutlej, loudly exclaiming that he had been grossly duped.* The active Nepalese commander soon put down some disorders which had arisen in his rear, but the disgrace of his failure before Kanggra rankled in his mind, and he made preparations for another expedition against it. He proposed to Sir David Ochterloney a joint march to the Indus, and a separate appropriation of the plains and the hills;† and Runjeet Singh, ignorant alike of English moderation and of international law, became apprehensive lest the allies of Nepal should be glad of a pretext for coercing one who had so unwillingly acceded to their limitation of his ambition. He made known that *he* was desirous of meeting Ummer Singh Thapa on his own ground; and the reply of the Governor-General that he might not only himself cross the Sutlej to chastise the invading Goorkhas in the hills, but that, if they descended into the plains of Sirhind, he would receive English assistance, gave him another proof that the river of the treaty was really to be an impassable

* Murray's *Runjeet Singh*, p. 76, 77. The Muharaja told Captain Wade that the Goorkhas wanted to share Cashmeer with him, but that he thought it best to keep them out of the Punjab altogether. (Capt Wade to Government, 25th May, 1831.)

† Sir D. Ochterloney to Government, 16th and 30th December, 1809.

barrier. He had got the assurance he wanted, and he talked no more of carrying his horsemen into mountain recesses.* But Ummer Singh long brooded over his reverse, and tried in various ways to induce the British authorities to join him in assailing the Punjab. The treaty with Nepal, he would say, made all strangers the mutual friends or enemies of the two governments, and Runjeet Singh had wantonly attacked the Goorkha possessions in Kototch. Besides, he would argue, to advance is the safest policy, and what could have brought the English to the Sutlej but the intention of going beyond it? † The war of 1814 followed, and the English became the neighbors of the Sikhs in the hills as well as in the plains, and the Goorkhas, instead of grasping Cashmeer, trembled for their homes in Kathmandoo. Runjeet Singh was not then asked to give his assistance, but Sunsar Chund was directly called upon by the English representative to attack the Goorkhas and their allies,—a hasty requisition, which produced a remonstrance from the Muharaja, and an admission, on the part of Sir David Ochterloney, that his supremacy was not questioned; while the experienced Hindoo chief had forborne to commit himself with either state, by promising much and doing little.‡

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* Sir D. Ochtherloney to Government, 12th September, 1811, and Government to Sir D. Ochterloney, 4th October, and 22nd November, 1811.

† Sir D. Ochterloney to Government, 20th December, 1813.

‡ Government to Sir David Ochterloney, 1st and 20th October, 1814. Resident at Delhi to Sir D. Ochterloney, 11th October, 1814, and Sir David's letter to Runjeet Singh, dated 29th November, 1814.

Runjeet Singh felt secure on the Upper Sutlej, but a new danger assailed him in the beginning of 1810, and again set him to work to dive to the bottom of British counsels. Mr. Elphinstone had scarcely concluded a treaty with Shah Shooja against the Persians and French, before that prince was driven out of his kingdom by the brother whom he had himself supplanted, and who had placed his affairs in the hands of the able minister, Futteh Khan. The Muharaja was at Vuzeerabad, sequestering that place from the family of a deceased Sikh chief, when he heard of Shah Shooja's progress to the eastward with vague hopes of procuring assistance from one friendly power or another. Runjeet Singh remembered the use he had himself made of Shah Zuman's grant of Lahore, he feared the whole Punjab might similarly be surrendered to the English in return for a few battalions, and he desired to keep a representative of imperial power within his own grasp.*

During the war of 1814 Sir David Ochterloney sometimes almost despaired of success; and, amid his vexation, he once at least recorded his opinion that the Sepoys of the Indian army were unequal to such mountain warfare as was being waged. (Sir D. Ochterloney to Government, 22d December, 1814.) The most active and useful ally of the English during the war, was Raja Ramsurrun of Hindoor (or Nalagurh), the descendant of the Hurree Chund slain by Gooroo Govind, and who was himself the ready coadjutor of Sunsar Chund in many aggressions upon others, as well as in resisting the Goorkhas. The venerable chief was still alive in 1846, and he continued to talk with admiration of Sir David Ochterloney and his "eighteen pounders," and to expatiate upon the aid he himself rendered in dragging them up the steeps of the Himalayas.

* Sir D. Ochterloney to Government, 10th and 30th December, 1809.

He amused the ex-king with the offer of co-operation in the recovery of Mooltan and Cashmeer, and he said he would himself proceed to meet the Shah to save him further journeying towards Hindostan. * They saw one another at Saheewal, but no determinate arrangement was come to, for some prospects of success dawned upon the Shah, and he felt reason to distrust Runjeet Singh's sincerity.† The conferences were broken off; but the Muharaja hastened, while there was yet an appearance of union, to demand the surrender of Mooltan for himself in the name of the king. The great gun called "Zem Zem," or the "Bunghee Tope," was brought from Lahore to batter the walls of the citadel; but all his efforts were in vain, and he retired, foiled, in the month of April, with no more than 180,000 rupees to sooth his mortified vanity. The governor, Mozuffer Khan, was by this time in correspondence with the British Viceroy in Calcutta, and Runjeet Singh feared that a tender of allegiance might not only be made but accepted.‡ He therefore proposed to Sir David Ochterloney that the two "allied powers" should march against Mooltan and divide the conquest equally.§ It

* Sir D. Ochterloney to Government, 7th, 10th, 17th, and 30th Dec., 1809, and 30th Jan. 1810.

† Shah Shooja's *Autobiography*, chap. xxii, published in the Calcutta Monthly Journal for 1839. The original was undoubtedly revised, if not really written, by the Shah.

‡ Sir D. Ochterloney to Government, 29th March, and 23rd May, 1810. In the latter it is stated that 250,000 rupees were paid, and the sum of 180,000 is given on Capt. Murray's authority. (*Life of Runjeet Singh*, p. 81.)

§ Sir D. Ochterloney to Government, 23rd July, and 13th Aug., 1810.

was surmised that he wanted the siege train of the English, but he may likewise have wished to know whether the Sutlej was to be as good a boundary in the south as in the north. He was told reprovingly that the English committed aggressions upon no one, but otherwise the tenor of the correspondence was such as to lead him to believe that he would not be interfered with in his designs upon Mooltan.*

Shah Shooja proceeded towards Attok after his interview with Runjeet Singh, and having procured some aid from the rebellious brother of the Governor of Cashmeer, he crossed the Indus, and, in March 1810, made himself master of Peshawur. He retained possession of the place for about six months, when he was compelled to retreat southward by the Vuzeer's brother, Mahomed Azeem Khan. He made an attempt to gain over the governor of Mooltan, but he was refused admittance within its walls, and was barely treated with courtesy, even when he encamped a few miles distant. He again moved northward, and, as the enemies of Mehmood were numerous, he succeeded in mastering Peshawur a second time, after two actions, one a reverse and the other victory. But those who had aided him became suspicious that he was in secret league with Futteh Khan, the Vuzeer, or, like Runjeet Singh, they wished to possess his person; and, in the course of 1812, he was seized in Peshawur by Jehan Dad Khan, governor of Attok, and removed, first, to that fort, and

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* Sir D. Ochterloney to Government, 29th March and 17th Sept., 1810, and Government to Sir D. Ochterloney, 25th Sept., 1840. Compare Murray's *Runjeet Singh*, p. 80, 81.

afterwards to Cashmeer, where he remained as a prisoner for more than twelve months.*

After the failure before Mooltan, Runjeet Singh and his minister, Mohkum Chund, were employed in bringing more fully under subjection various Sikh and Mahometan chiefs in the plains, and also the hill Rajas of Bhimbur, Rajaoree, and other places. In the month of February, 1811, the Muharaja had reached the salt mines between the Jehlum and Indus, and hearing that Shah Mehmood had crossed the latter river, he moved in force to Rawil Pindee, and sent to ascertain his intentions. The Shah had already deputed agents to state that his object was to punish or overawe the Governor of Cashmeer, who had sided with his brother, Shah Shooja, then in the neighbourhood of Mooltan; and the two princes being satisfied, they had a meeting of ceremony before the Muharaja returned to Lahore, to renew his confiscation of lands held by the many petty chiefs who had achieved independence or sovereignty while the country was without a general controlling power, but who now fell unresistingly before the systematic activity of the young Muharaja.†

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* Sir D. Ochterloney to Government, 10th Jan. and 26th Feb. 1810, and 27th April, 1812. *Shah Shooja's Autobiography*, chap. xxiii — xxv. in the Calcutta Monthly Journal for 1839, and *Murray's Runjeet Singh*, p. 79. 87. 92.

Shah Shooja's second appearance before Mooltan in 1810-11, is given mainly on Captain Murray's authority, and the attempt is not mentioned in the Shah's memoirs, although it is admitted that he went into the Derajat of the Indus, *i. e.* to Dera Ismaeel Khan, &c.

† Murray's *Runjeet Singh*, p. 83 &c. The principal of the chiefs

In the year 1811, the blind Shah Zuman crossed the Punjab, and was visited by Runjeet Singh. He took up his residence in Lahore for a time, and deputed his son Eunus to Loodiana, where he was received with attention by Sir David Ochterloney; but as the prince perceived that he was not a welcome guest, his father quitted Runjeet Singh's city, and became a wanderer for a time in Central Asia.* In the following year the families of the two ex-kings took up their abode at Lahore, and as the Muharaja was preparing to bring the hill chiefs south of Cashmeer under his power, with a view to the reduction of the valley itself, and as he always endeavored to make success more complete or more easy by appearing to labor in the cause of others, he professed to the wife of Shah Shooja that he would release her husband and replace Cashmeer under the Shah's sway; but he hoped the gratitude of the distressed lady would make the great diamond, Koh-i-noor, the reward of his chivalrous labors when they should be crowned with success. His principal object

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whose territories were usurped, was Boodh Singh, of the Singhpooreea or Feizoolapoorea Misl. See also Sir D. Ochterloney to Government, 15th Oct., 1811.

* Murray's *Runjeet Singh*, p 87. The visit of the prince was considered very embarrassing with reference to Runjeet Singh; for Shah Shooja might follow, and he was one who claimed British aid under the treaty of 1809. It was regretted that the "obligations of political necessity should supersede the dictates of compassion;" it was argued that the treaty referred to defence against the French, and not against a brother; and the loyal-hearted Sir David Ochterloney was chidden for the reception he gave to the distressed Shahzada. (Government to Sir D. Ochterloney, 19th Jan., 1811, and the correspondence generally of Dec. 1810, and Jan. 1811.)

was doubtless the possession of the Shah's person, and when, after his preliminary successes against the hill chiefs, including the capture of Jummoo by his newly married son, Khurruk Singh, he heard, towards the end of 1812, that Futteh Khan, the Caubul Vuzeer, had crossed the Indus with the design of marching against Cashmeer, he sought an interview with him, and said he would assist in bringing to punishment both the rebel, who detained the king's brother, and likewise the Governor of Mooltan, who had refused obedience to Mehmood. Futteh Khan had been equally desirous of an interview, for he felt that he could not take Cashmeer if opposed by Runjeet Singh, and he readily promised anything to facilitate his immediate object. The Muharaja and the Vuzeer each hoped to use the other as a tool, yet the success of neither was complete. Cashmeer was occupied in February 1813; but Futteh Khan outstripped the Sikhs under Mohkum Chund, and he maintained that as he alone had achieved the conquest, the Muharaja could not share in the spoils. The only advantage which accrued to Runjeet Singh was the possession of Shah Shooja's person, for the ill-fated king was allowed by Futteh Khan to go whither he pleased, and he preferred joining the Sikh army, which he accompanied to Lahore, to becoming virtually a prisoner.* But the Muharaja's expedients did not entirely fail him, and as the rebel governor of Attok was alarmed by the success of Shah Mehmood's party in Cashmeer, he was easily persuaded to yield the fort

* Murray's *Runjeet Singh*, p. 92. 95.; Sir David Ochterloney to Government, 4th March, 1813; and Shah Shooja's *Autobiography*, chap. xxv.

to Runjeet Singh. This unlooked-for stroke incensed Futteh Khan, who accused the Muharaja of barefaced treachery, and endeavored further to intimidate him by pretending to make overtures to Shah Shooja; but the Muharaja felt confident of his strength, and a battle was fought on the 13th July, 1813, near Attok, in which the Caubul Vuzeer, and his brother, Dost Mahomed Khan, were defeated by Mohkum Chund and the Sikhs.*

Runjeet Singh was equally desirous of detaining Shah Shooja in Lahore, and of securing the great diamond which had adorned the throne of the Moghuls. The king evaded a compliance with all demands for a time, and rejected even the actual offer of moderate sums of money; but at last the Muharaja visited the Shah in person, mutual friendship was declared, an exchange of turbans took place, the diamond was surrendered, and the King received the assignment of a jagheer in the Punjab for his maintenance, and a promise of aid in recovering Caubul.† Runjeet Singh then moved towards the Indus to watch the proceedings of Futteh Khan, who was gradually consolidating the power of Mehmood, and he required Shah Shooja to

* Murray's *Runjeet Singh*, p. 95. 100; Sir D. Ochterloney to Government, 1st July, 1813.

† Murray's *Runjeet Singh*, p. 96., &c.; Shah Shooja's *Autobiography*, chap. xxv; Sir D. Ochterloney to Government, 16th and 23rd April, 1813, and to the Resident at Delhi, 15th Oct., 1813. The Shah's own account of the methods practised to get possession of the diamond, is more favorable than Capt. Murray's to Runjeet Singh. The Shah wanted a jagheer of 100,000 rupees, and one of 50,000 was assigned to him; but effect to the assignment was never given, nor perhaps expected.

join him, perhaps with some design of making an attempt on Cashmeer; but Futteh Khan was likewise watchful, the season was advanced, and the Muharaja suddenly returned. Shah Shooja followed slowly, and on the way he was plundered of many valuables, by ordinary robbers, as the Sikhs said, but by the Sikhs themselves, as the Shah believed. The inferior agents of Runjeet Singh may not have been very scrupulous, but the Shah had traitors in his own household, and the high officer who had been sent to conduct Mr. Elphinstone to Peshawur, embezzled much of the Shah's property when misfortune overtook him. This Meer Abool Hussun had originally informed the Sikh chief of the safety of the Koh-i-noor and other valuables, he plotted, when in Lahore, to make it appear the king was in league with the governor of Cashmeer, and he finally threw difficulties in the way of the escape of his master's family from the Sikh capital. The flight of the Begum's to Loodiana was at last effected in December 1814; for Shah Shooja perceived the design of the Muharaja to detain him a prisoner, and to make use of his name for purposes of his own. A few months afterwards the Shah himself escaped to the hills; he was joined by some Sikhs discontented with Runjeet Singh, and he was aided by the chief of Kishtwar in an attack upon Cashmeer. He penetrated into the valley, but he had to retreat, and, after residing for some time longer with his simple, but zealous, mountain host, he marched through Kooloo, crossed the Sutlej, and joined his family at Loodiana in September, 1816.* His presence

* Murray's *Runjeet Singh*, p. 102, 103; Shah Shooja's *Autobiography*, chaps. xxv., xxvi.

on the frontier was regarded as embarrassing by the British Government, which desired that he should be urged to retire to Kurnal or Seharunpoor, and Sir David Ochterloney was further discretionally authorized to tell Runjeet Singh that the ex-king of Caubul was not a welcome guest within the limits of Hindostan. Nevertheless the annual sum of 18,000 rupees, which had been assigned for the support of his family, was raised to 50,000 on his arrival, and personally he was treated with becoming respect and consideration.*

Shah Shooja thus slipped from the hands of the Muharaja, and no use could be made of his name in further attempts upon Cashmeer ; but Runjeet Singh continued as anxious as ever to obtain possession of the valley, although the governor had, in the mean time, put himself in communication with the English.† The chiefs south of the Peer Punjal range having been brought under subjection, military operations were commenced towards the middle of the year 1814. Sickness detained the experienced Mohkum Chund at the capital, but he warned the Muharaja of the difficulties which would beset him as soon as the rains set in, and he almost urged the postponement of the expedition. But the necessary arrangements had been completed, and the approach was made in two columns. The more advanced division surmounted the lofty barrier, a detach-

* Government to Sir D. Ochterloney, 2nd and 20th Aug., 1815, and 14th, 21st, and 28th Sept., 1816. The Wuffa Begum had before been told that the Shah's family had no claims to British protection or intervention. (Government to Resident at Delhi, 19th Dec., 1812, and 1st July, 1813.)

† Government to Sir D. Ochterloney, 29th Oct. and 23rd Nov., 1813.

ment of the Afghan force was repulsed, and the town of Soopein was attacked; but the assault failed, and the Sikhs retired to the mountain passes. Mahomed Azeem Khan, the governor, then fell on the main body of Runjeet Singh, which had been long in view on the skirts of the valley, and compelled the Muharaja to retreat with precipitation. The rainy season had fairly set in, the army became disorganised, a brave chief, Mit'h Singh Behraneea, was slain, and Runjeet Singh reached his capital almost alone about the middle of August. The advanced detachment was spared by Mahomed Azeem Khan, out of regard, he said, for Mohkum Chund, the grandfather of its commander; and as doubtless the aspiring brother of the Vuzeer Futteh Khan had views of his own amid the struggles then going on for power, he may have thought it prudent to improve every opportunity to the advantage of his own reputation.*

The efforts made during the expedition to Cashmeer had been great, and the Muharaja took some time to reorganize his means. Towards the middle of 1815, he sent detachments of troops to levy exactions around Mooltan, but he himself remained at Adeenanuggur, busy with internal arrangements, and perhaps intent upon the war then in progress between the British and the Nepalese, and which, for a period of six months, was scarcely worthy of the English name. The end of the same year was employed in again reducing the

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* Murray's *Runjeet Singh*, p. 104. 108, and Sir D. Ochterloney to Government, 13th Aug., 1814. Deewan Mohkum Chund died soon after Runjeet Singh's return.

Mahometan tribes south-east of Cashmeer, who had thrown off their a giance during the retreat of the Sikhs. In the beginning of 1816, the refractory hill raja of Noorpoor sought poverty and an asylum in the British territories, rather than resign his territories and accept a maintenance. The Mahometan chiefship of Jhung was next finally confiscated, and Leia, a dependency of Dera Ismaeel Khan, was laid under contribution. Ootch on the Chenab, the seat of families of Syeds, was temporarily occupied by Futteh Singh Alhoowaleea, and the possessions of Jodh Singh Ramgurheea, lately deceased, the son of Jussa the Carpenter, the confederate of the Muharaja's father, were seized and annexed to the territories of the Lahore government. Sunsar Chund was honored and alarmed by a visit from his old ally, and the year 1816 terminated with the Muharaja's triumphant return to Amritsir.*

The northern plains and lower hills of the Punjab had been fairly reduced to obedience and order, and Runjeet Singh's territories were bounded on the south and west by the real or nominal dependencies of Caubul, but the Muharaja's meditated attacks upon them were postponed for a year by impaired health. His first object was Mooltan, and early in 1818, an army marched to attack it, under the nominal command of his son, Khurruk Singh, the titular reducer of Jummoo. To ask what were the Muharaja's reasons for attacking Mooltan, would be futile; he thought the Sikhs had as good a right as the Afghans to take what they could, and the actual possessor of Mooltan had rather asserted

* Compare Murray's *Runjeet Singh*, p. 108., 111.

his own independence than faithfully served the heirs of Ahmed Shah. A large sum of money was demanded and refused. In the course of February, the city was in possession of the Sikhs, but the fort held out until the beginning of June, and chance had then some share in its capture. An Akalee, named Sadhoo Singh, went forth to do battle for the "Khalsa," and the very suddenness of the onset of his small band led to success. The Sikhs, seeing the impression thus strangely made, arose together, carried the outwork, and found an easy entry through the breaches of a four months batter. Mozuffer Khan, the governor, and two of his sons, were slain in the assault, and two others were made prisoners. A considerable booty fell to the share of the soldiery, but when the army reached Lahore, the Muharaja directed that the plunder should be restored. He may have felt some pride that his commands were not altogether unheeded, but he complained that they were not so productive as he had expected.*

During the same year, 1818, Futteh Khan, the Caubul Vuzeer, was put to death by Kamran, the son of

* The place fell on the 2nd June, 1818. See *Murray's Runjeet Singh*, p. 114, &c. The Muharaja told Mr. Moorcroft that he had got very little of the booty he attempted to recover. (Moorcroft, *Travels*, i. 102). Mahomed Mozuffer Khan, the governor, had held Mooltan from the time of the expulsion of the Sikhs of the Bunghee "Misl," in 1779. In 1807 he went on a pilgrimage to Mecca, and, although he returned in two years, he left the nominal control of affairs with his son Surufraz Khan. On the last approach of Runjeet Singh, the old man refused, according to the Buhawulpoor annals, to send his family to the south of the Sutlej, as on other occasions of siege; but whether he did so in the confidence, or in the despair, of a successful resistance is not clear.

Mahmood, the nominal ruler. He had gone to Heerat to repel an attack of the Persians, and he was accompanied by his brother, Dost Mahomed, who again had among his followers a Sikh chief, Jaee Singh Atareewala, who had left the Punjab in displeasure. Futteh Khan was successful, and applause was freely bestowed upon his measures; but he wished to place Heerat, then held by a member of Ahmed Shah's family, within his own grasp, and Dost Mahomed and his Sikh ally were employed to eject and despoil the Prince-Governor. Dost Mahomed effected his purposes somewhat rudely, the person of a royal lady was touched in the eagerness of the riflers to secure her jewels, and Kamran made this affront offered to a sister, a pretext for getting rid of the man who from the stay had become the tyrant of his family. Futteh Khan was first blinded and then murdered; and the crime saved Heerat, indeed, to Ahmed Shah's heir, but deprived them for a time, and now perhaps for ever, of the rest of his possessions. Mahomed Azeem Khan hastened from Cashmeer, which he left in charge of Jubbar Khan, another of the many brothers. He at first thought of reinstating Shah Shooja, but he at last proclaimed Shah Ayoob as king, and in a few months he was master of Peshawur and Ghuznee, of Caubul and Candahar. This change of rulers favored, if it did not justify, the views of Runjeet Singh, and, towards the end of 1818, he crossed the Indus and entered Peshawur, which was evacuated on his approach. But it did not suit his purposes, at the time, to endeavor to retain the district; he garrisoned Khyrabad, which lies on the right bank of the river, so as to command the passage for the future, and then retired, placing Jehan

Dad Khan, his old ally of Attok, in possession of Peshawur itself, to hold it as he could by his own means. The Barukzaee governor, Yar Mahomed Khan, returned as soon as Runjeet Singh had gone, and the powerless Jehan Dad made no attempt to defend his gift.*

Runjeet Singh's thoughts were now directed towards the annexation of Cashmeer, the garrison of which had been reduced by the withdrawal of some good troops by Mahomed Azeem Khan; but the proceedings of Dehsa Singh Mujeetheea and Sunsar Chund, for a moment changed his designs upon others into fears for himself. These chiefs were employed on an expedition in the hills to collect the tribute due to the Muharaja; and the Raja of Kuhloor, who held territories on both sides of the Sutlej, ventured to resist the demands made. Sunsar Chund rejoiced in this opportunity of revenge upon the friend of the Goorkhas; the river was crossed, but the British authorities were prompt, and a detachment of troops stood ready to oppose force to force. Runjeet Singh directed the immediate recall of his men, and he desired Sirdar Dehsa Singh to go in person, and offer his apologies to the English agent.† This alarm being over, the Muharaja proceeded with his preparations against Cashmeer, the troops occupying which, had, in

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* Compare *Murray's Runjeet Singh*, p. 117. 120.; *Shah Shooja's Autobiography*, chap. xxvii.; and *Moonshee Mohan Lal's Life of Dost Mahomed*, i. 99. 104.

Capt. Murray (p. 131.) places the defection of Jaee Singh of Ataree, in the year 1822; but compare also Mr. Masson, *Travels*, iii. 21. 32, in support of the earlier date assigned.

† Compare Murray's *Runjeet Singh* p. 121, 122, and Moorcroft, *Travels*, i. 110, for the duration of the Muharaja's displeasure with Dehsa Singh.

the meantime, been reinforced by a detachment from Caubul. The Brahmin, Deewan Chund, who had exercised the real command at Mooltan, was placed in advance, the Prince Khurruk Singh headed a supporting column, and Runjeet Singh himself remained behind with a reserve and for the purpose of expediting the transit of the various munitions of war. The choice of the Sikh cavalry marched on foot over the mountains along with the infantry soldiers, and they dragged with them a few light guns; the passes were scaled on the 5th July 1819, but Jubbar Khan was found ready to receive them. The Afghans repulsed the invaders, and mastered two guns; but they did not improve their success, and the rallied Sikhs again attacked them, and won an almost bloodless victory.*

A few months after Cashmeer had been added to the Lahore dominions, Runjeet Singh moved in person to the south of the Punjab, and Dera Ghazee Khan on the Indus, another dependency of Caubul, was seized by the victorious Sikhs. The Nuwab of Buhawulpoor, who held lands under Runjeet Singh in the fork of the Indus and Chenab, had two years before made a successful attack on the Dooranee chief of the place, and it was now transferred to him in farm, although his Cis-Sutlej possessions had virtually, but not formally, been taken under British protection in the year 1815, and he had thus become, in a measure, independent of the Muharaja's power.† During the year 1820 partial

* Compare Murray's *Runjeet Singh*, p. 122—124.

† Government to Superintendent Ambala, 15th Jan. 1815, and Sir D. Ochterloney to Government, 23d July, 1815. Compare Murray's *Runjeet Singh*, p. 124. The Buhawulpoor Memoirs

attempts were made to reduce the turbulent Mahometan tribes to the south-west of Cashmeer, and, in 1821, Runjeet Singh proceeded to complete his conquests on the Central Indus by the reduction of Dera Ismaeel Khan. The strong fort of Munkehra, situated between the two westernmost rivers of the Punjab, was held out for a time by Hafiz Ahmed Khan, the father of the titular governor, who scarcely owned a nominal subjection to Caubul; but the promise of honorable terms induced him to surrender before the end of the year, and the country on the right bank of the Indus, including Dera Ismaeel Khan, was left to him as a feudatory of Lahore.*

Mahomed Azeem had succeeded to the power of his brother, Futteh Khan, and, being desirous of keeping Runjeet Singh to the left bank of the Indus, he moved to Peshawur in the year 1822, accompanied by Jaee Singh, the fugitive Sikh chief, with the intention of attacking Khyrabad opposite Attok. Other matters caused him hastily to retrace his steps, but his proceedings had brought the Muharaja to the westward who sent to Yar Mahomed Khan, the Governor of Peshawur, and demanded tribute. This leader, who apprehended the designs of his brother, Mahomed Azeem Khan, almost as much as he dreaded Runjeet Singh, made an offering of some valuable horses.† The

state that Runjeet Singh came down the Sutlej as far as Pakputtun, with the view of seizing Buhawulpoor, but that a show of resistance having been made, and some presents offered, the Muharaja moved westward.

* Compare Murray's *Runjeet Singh*, p. 129, 130, and Sir A. Burnes' *Caubul*, p. 92.

† Compare Murray's *Runjeet Singh*, p. 134—137.

Muharaja was satisfied and withdrew, perhaps the more readily, as some differences had arisen with the British authorities regarding the right to a place named Whudnee, to the south of the Sutlej, which had been transferred by Runjeet Singh to his intriguing and ambitious mother-in-law, Sudda Kour, in the year 1808. The lady was regarded by the English agents as being the independent representative of the interests of the Kuneia (or Ghunee) confederacy of Sikhs on *their* side of the river, and therefore as having a right to their protection. But Runjeet Singh had quarrelled with and imprisoned his mother-in-law, and had taken possession of the fort of Whudnee. It was resolved to eject him by force, and a detachment of troops marched from Loodiana and restored the authority of the captive widow. Runjeet Singh prudently made no attempt to resist the British agent, but he was not without apprehensions that his occupation of the place would be construed into a breach of the treaty, and he busied himself with defensive preparations. A friendly letter from the superior authorities at Delhi relieved him of his fears, and allowed him to prosecute his designs against Peshawur without further interruption.*

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* Compare Murray's *Runjeet Singh*, p. 134, where the proceedings are given very briefly, and scarcely with accuracy. Capt. Murray's and Capt. Ross's letters to the Resident at Delhi, from Feb. to Sept. 1822, give details, and other information is obtainable from the letters of Sir D. Ochterloney to Capt. Ross, dated 7th Nov. 1821, and of the Governor General's Agent at Delhi to Capt. Murray, of 22nd June, and to Government of the 23rd Aug. 1822; and from those of Government to the Governor General's Agent, 24th April, 13th July, and 18th Oct., 1822. On

Mahomed Azeem Khan disapproved of the presentation of horses to Runjeet Singh by Yar Mahomed Khan, and he repaired to Peshawur in January 1823. Yar Mahomed fled into the Eusofzaee hills rather than meet his brother, and the province seemed lost to one branch of the numerous family; but the chief of the Sikhs was at hand, resolved to assert his equality of right or his superiority of power. The Indus was forded on the 13th March, the guns being carried across on elephants. The territory of the Khuttuks bordering the river was occupied, and at Akora the Muharaja received and pardoned the fugitive Jaee Singh Atareewala. A religious war had been preached, and twenty thousand men, of the Khuttuk and Eusofzaee tribes, had been assembled by their priests and devotees to fight for their faith against the unbelieving invaders. This body of men was posted on and around heights near Noshehra, but on the left bank of the Caubul river, while Mahomed Azeem Khan, distrustful of his influence over the independent militia, and of the fidelity of his brothers, occupied a position higher up on the right bank of the stream. Runjeet Singh detached a force to keep the Vuzeer in check, and crossed the river to attack the armed peasantry. The Sikh "Akalees" at once rushed upon the Mahometan "Ghazees," but Phoola Singh, the wild leader of the fanatics of Amritsir, was slain, and his horsemen made no impression on masses of footmen advantageously posted. The Afghans

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this occasion the Akalee Phoola Singh is reported, by Capt. Murray, to have offered to retake Whudnee single-handed, and Runjeet Singh to have commissioned him to embody a thousand of his brethern.

then exultingly advanced, and threw the drilled infantry of the Lahore ruler into confusion. They were checked by the fire of the rallying battalions, and by the play of the artillery drawn up on the opposite bank of the river, and at length Runjeet Singh's personal exertions with his cavalry converted the check into a victory. The brave and believing mountaineers reassembled after their rout, and next day they were willing to renew the fight under their "Peerzada," Mahomed Akber; but the Caubul Vuzeer had fled with precipitation, and they were without countenance or support. Peshawur was sacked, and the country plundered up to the Khyber Pass; but the hostile spirit of the population rendered the province of difficult retention, and the prudent Muharaja gladly accepted Yar Mahomed's tender of submission. Mahomed Azeem Khan died shortly afterwards, and with him expired all show of unanimity among the bands of brothers who possessed the three capitals of Peshawur, Caubul, and Candahar; while Shah Mehmood and his son Kamran exercised a precarious authority in Heerat, and Shah Ayoob, who had been proclaimed titular monarch of Afghanistan, remained a cipher in his chief city. *

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* Compare Murray's *Runjeet Singh*, p. 137, &c.; Moorcroft's *Travels*, ii. 333, 334.; and Masson's *Journeys*, iii. 58—60. Runjeet Singh told Capt. Wade that, of his disciplined troops, his Goorkhas alone stood firm under the assault of the Mahometans. (Capt. Wade to Resident at Delhi, 3d April, 1839.)

The fanatic, Phoola Singh, already referred to in the preceding note, was a man of some notoriety. In 1809, he attacked Sir Charles Metcalfe's camp, and afterwards the party of a British officer employed in surveying the Cis-Sutlej states. In 1814-15,

Towards the end of the year 1823, Runjeet Singh marched to the south-west corner of his territories, to reduce refractory Mahometan Jagheerdars, and to create an impression of his power on the frontiers of Sindh,—to tribute from the Ameers of which country, he had already advanced some claims.* He likewise pretended to regard Shikarpoor as a usurpation of the Talpoor dynasty; but his plans were not yet matured, and he returned to his capital to learn of the death of Sunsar Chund. He gave his consent to the succession of the son of a chief whose power once surpassed his own, and the Prince Khurruk Singh exchanged turbans, in token of brotherhood, with the heir of tributary Kototch.†

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he fortified himself in Ubohur (between Feerozpoor and Bhutneer), since construed into a British possession (Capt Murray to Agent, Delhi, 15th May, 1823) ; and, in 1820, he told Mr. Moorcroft, that he was dissatisfied with Ranjeet Singh, that he was ready to join the English, and that, indeed, he would carry fire and sword wherever Mr. Moorcroft might desire. (*Travels*, i. 110.)

With regard to Dost Mahomed Khan, it is well-known, and Mr. Masson (*Journeys*, iii. 59, 60.), and Moonshee Mohun Lal (*Life of Dost Mahomed*, i. 127, 128), both show the extent to which he was an intriguer on this occasion. This circumstance was subsequently lost sight of by the British negotiators and the British public, and Sikh and Afghan leaders were regarded as essentially antagonistic instead of as ready to coalesce for their selfish ends under any of several probable contingencies.

* Capt. Murray to the Governor-General's Agent, Delhi, 15th Dec. 1825, and Capt. Wade to the same, 7th Aug., 1823.

† Murray's *Runjeet Singh*, p. 141. For an interesting account of Sunsar Chund, his family, and his country, see *Moorcroft's Travels* i. 126—146.

Runjeet Singh had now brought under his sway the three Mahometan provinces of Cashmeer, Mooltan, and Peshawur : he was supreme in the hills and plains of the Punjab proper ; the mass of his dominion had been acquired ; and, although his designs on Ludakh and Sindh were obvious, a pause in the narrative of his actions may conveniently take place, for the purpose of relating other matters necessary to a right understanding of his character, and which intimately bear on the general history of the country.

Shah Shooja reached Loodiana, as has been mentioned, in the year 1816, and secured for himself an honoured repose : but his thoughts were intent on Caubul and Candahar ; he disliked the British notion that he had tamely sought an asylum, and he wished to be regarded as a prince in distress, seeking for aid to enable him to recover his crown. He had hopes held out to him by the Ameers of Sindh, when hard pressed, perhaps, by Futteh Khan, and he conceived that an invasion of Afghanistan might be successfully prosecuted from the southward. He made offers of advantage to the English, but he was told that they had no concern with the affairs of strangers, and desired to live in peace with all their neighbors. He was thus casting about for means, when Futteh Khan was murdered, and the tenders of allegiance which he received from Mahomed Azeem Khan, at once induced him to quit Loodiana. He left that place in October 1818 : with the aid of the Nawab of Buhawulpoor, he mastered Dera Ghazee Khan ; he sent his son Tymoor to occupy Shikarpoor, and he proceeded in person towards Peshawur, to become, as he believed, the king of the

Dooranees. But Mahomed Azeem Khan had, in the meantime, seen fit to proclaim himself the Vuzeer of Ayoob, and Shah Shooja, hard pressed, sought safety among some friendly clans in the Khyber hills. He was driven thence at the end of two months, and had scarcely entered Shikarpoor, when Mahomed Azeem Khan's approach compelled him to retire. He went, first, to Khyrpoor, and afterwards to Hydrabad, and, having procured some money from the Sindhians, he returned and recovered Shikarpoor, where he resided for a year. But Mahomed Azeem Khan again approached, the Hydrabad chiefs pretended that the Shah was plotting to bring in the English, and their money was this time paid for his expulsion. The ex-king, finding his position untenable, retired through Rajpootana to Delhi, and eventually took up his residence a second time at Loodiana in June, 1821. His brother, the blind Shah Zuman, after visiting Persia, and perhaps Arabia, arrived at the same place about the same time and by nearly the same road. Shah Shooja's stipend had all along been drawn by his family, represented by the able and faithful Wuffa Begum, and an allowance, first, of 18,000, and afterwards of 24,000 rupees a year, was assigned for the support of Shah Zuman, when he also became a petitioner to the English government.*

* Compare *Shah Shooja's Autobiog.* ch. xxvii., xxviii., xxix., in the Calcutta Monthly Journal for 1839, and the *Buhawulpoor Family Annals* (Manuscript). Capt. Murray (*History of Runjeet Singh*, p. 103), merely states that Shah Shooja made an unsuccessful attempt to recover his throne ; but the following letters may be referred to in support of all that is included in the para-

In the year 1820, Appa Sahib, the deposed Raja of the Mahratta kingdom of Nagpoor, escaped from the custody of the British authorities and repaired to Amritsir. He would seem to have had the command of large sums of money, and he endeavored to engage Runjeet Singh in his cause; but the Muharaja had been told the fugitive was the violent enemy of his English allies, and he ordered him to quit his territories. The chief took up his abode for a time in Sunsar Chund's principality of Kototch, and while there he would appear to have entered into some idle schemes with Prince Hyder, a son of Shah Zuman, for the subjugation of India, south and east of the Sutlej. The Dooranee was to be monarch of the whole, from Delhi to Cape Comorin; but the Mahratta was to be Vuzeer of the empire, and to hold the Deccan as a dependent sovereign. The Punjab was not included; but it did not transpire that either Runjeet Singh, or Sunsar Chund, or the two ex-kings of Caubul, were privy to the design, and, as soon as the circumstance became known, Sunsar Chund compelled his guest to proceed elsewhere. Appa Sahib repaired, in 1822, to Mundee, which lies between Kanggra and the Sutlej; but he wandered to Amritsir about 1828, and only finally quitted the country during the following year, to find an asylum with the Raja of Jodhpoor. That state had become an English dependency, and the ex-raja's surrender was

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graph :—Government to Resident, Delhi, 10th May and 7th June, 1817; Capt. Murray to Resident, Delhi, 22nd Sept. and 10th Oct., 1818, and 1st April, 1825; and Capt. Murray to Sir D. Ochterloney, 29th April, 30th June, and 27th Aug., 1821.

required ; but the strong objections of the Rajpoot induced the Government to be satisfied with a promise of his safe custody, and he died almost forgotten in the year 1840.*

As has been mentioned, the Raja Beer Singh, of Noorpoor, in the hills, had been dispossessed of his chiefship in the year 1816. He sought refuge to the south of the Sutlej, and immediately made proposals to Shah Shooja, who had just reached Loodiana, to enter into a combination against Runjeet Singh. The Muharaja had not altogether despised similar tenders of allegiance from various discontented chiefs, when the Shah was his prisoner guest in Lahore ; he remembered the treaty between the Shah and the English, and he knew how readily dethroned kings might be made use of by the ambitious. He wished to ascertain the views of the English authorities, but he veiled his suspicions of *them* in terms of apprehension of the Noorpoor Raja. His troops, he said, were absent in the neighborhood of Mooltan, and Beer Singh might cross the Sutlej and raise disturbances. The reception of emissaries by Shah Shooja was then discountenanced, and the residence of the exiled Raja at Loodiana was discouraged ; but Runjeet Singh was told that his right to attempt the recovery of his chiefship was admitted, although he would not be allowed to organize the means of doing

* Compare *Murray's Runjeet Singh*, p. 126. ; *Moorcroft's Travels*, i. 109. ; and the *quasi*-official authority, the *Bengal and Agra Gazetteer for* 1841, 1842 (articles "Nagpoor" and "Jodhpur"). See also Capt. Murray's letters to Resident at Delhi, 24th Nov. and 22d Dec., 1821, the 13th Jan. 1822. and 16th June, 1824 ; and likewise Capt. Wade to Resident at Delhi, 15th March, 1828.

so within the British limits. The Muharaja seemed satisfied that Lahore would be safe while absent in the south or west, and he said no more.*

In the year 1819, the able and adventurous traveller, Moorcroft, left the plains of India in the hope of reaching Yarkund and Bokhara. In the hills of the Punjab he experienced difficulties, and he was induced to repair to Lahore to wait upon Runjeet Singh. He was honorably received, and any lurking suspicions of his own designs, or of the views of his Government, were soon dispelled. The Muharaja conversed with frankness of the events of his life; he showed the traveller his bands of horsemen and battalions of infantry, and encouraged him to visit any part of the capital without hesitation, and at his own leisure. Mr. Moorcroft's medical skill and general knowledge, his candid manner and personal activity, produced an impression favorable to himself and advantageous to his countrymen; but his proposition that British merchandize should be admitted into the Punjab at a fixed scale of duties, was received with evasion. The Muharaja's revenues might be affected, it was said, and his principal officers, whose advice was necessary, were absent on distant expeditions. Every facility was afforded to Mr. Moorcroft in prosecuting his journey, and it was

* The public correspondence generally of 1816—17, has here been referred to, and especially the letter of Government to Resident at Delhi, dated 11th April, 1817. In Beer Singh made another attempt to recover his principaly; but he was seized and imprisoned. (*Murray's Runjeet Singh*, p. 145., and Capt. Murray to Resident at Delhi, 25th Feb. 1127.) He was subsequently released, and was alive, but unheeded, in 1844.

arranged that, if he could not reach Yarkund from Tibet, he might proceed through Cashmeer to Caubul and Bokhara, the route which it was eventually found necessary to pursue. Mr. Moorcroft reached Ludakh in safety, and in 1821 he became possessed of a letter from the Russian minister, Prince Nesselrode, recommending a merchant to the good offices of Runjeet Singh, and assuring him that the traders of the Punjab would be well received in the Russian dominions—for the emperor was himself a benign ruler, he earnestly desired the prosperity of other countries, and he was especially the well-wisher of that reigned over by the King of the Sikhs. The person recommended had died on his way southward from Russia; and it appeared that, six years previously, he had been the bearer of similar communications for the Muharaja of Lahore, and the Raja of Ludakh.*

Runjeet Singh now possessed a broad dominion, and an instructed intellect might have rejoiced in the opportunity afforded for wise legislation, and for consolidating aggregated provinces into one harmonious empire. But such a task neither suited the Muharaja's genius nor that of the Sikh nation; nor is it, perhaps, agreeable to the constitution of any political society, that its limits shall be fixed, or that the pervading spirit of a people shall rest, until its expansive force is destroyed and becomes obnoxious to change and decay. Runjeet Singh grasped the more obvious characteristics of the impulse given by Nanuk and Govind; he dexterously turned

* Moorcroft, *Travels*, i. 99, 103; to and see also 383, 387, with respect to a previous letter to Runjeet Singh.

them to the purposes of his own material ambition, and he appeared to be an absolute monarch in the midst of willing and obedient subjects. But he knew that he merely directed into a particular channel a power which he could neither destroy nor control, and that, to prevent the Sikhs turning upon himself, or destroying one another, he must regularly engage them in conquest and remote warfare. The first political system of the emancipated Sikhs had crumbled to pieces, partly through its own defects, partly owing to its contact with a well-ordered and civilized government, and partly in consequence of the ascendancy of one superior mind. The "Misls" had vanished, or were only represented by Alhoowaleea and Putteeala (or Phoolkeea), the one depending on the personal friendship of Runjeet Singh for its chief, and the other upheld in separate portions by the expediency of the English. But Runjeet Singh never thought his own, or the Sikh sway was to be confined to the Punjab, and his only wish was to lead armies as far as faith in the Khalsa and confidence in his skill would take brave and believing men. He troubled himself not at all with the theory or the practical niceties of administration, and he would rather have added a province to his rule, than have received the assurances of his English neighbors that he legislated with discrimination in commercial affairs, and with a just regard for the amelioration of his ignorant and fanatical subjects of various persuasions. He took from the land as much as it could readily yield, and he took from merchants as much as they could profitably give; he put down open marauding; the

Sikh peasantry enjoyed a light assessment; no local officer dared to oppress a member of the Khalsa; and if elsewhere the farmers of revenue were resisted in their tyrannical proceedings, they were more likely to be changed than to be supported by battalions. He did not ordinarily punish men who took redress into their own hands, for which, indeed, his subordinates were prepared, and which they guarded against as they could The whole wealth, and the whole energies, of the people, were devoted to war, and to the preparation of military means and equipment. The system is that common to all feudal governments, and it gives much scope to individual ambition, and tends to produce independence of character. It suited the mass of the Sikh population; they had ample employment, they loved contention, and they were pleased that city after city admitted the supremacy of the Khalsa, and enabled them to enrich their families. But Runjeet Singh never arrogated to himself the title or the powers of despot or tyrant. He was assiduous in his devotions; he honored men of reputed sanctity, and enabled them to practise an enlarged charity; he attributed every success to the favor of God, and he styled himself and people collectively the "Khalsa," or commonwealth of Govind. Whether in walking barefooted to make his obeisance to a collateral representative of his prophets, or in rewarding a soldier distinguished by that symbol of his faith, a long and ample beard, or in restraining the excesses of the fanatical Akalees, or in beating an army and acquiring a province, his own name and his own motives were kept carefully concealed, and every thing was done for the sake of the Gooroo, for the

advantage of the Khalsa, and in the name of the Lord.*

In the year 1822, the French generals, Ventura and Allard, reached Lahore by way of Persia and Afghanistan, and, after some little hesitation, they were

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* Runjeet Singh, in writing or in talking of his government always used the term "Khalsa." On his seal he wrote, as any Sikh usually writes, his name, with the prefix "Akal Suhaee," that is, for instance, "God the helper, Runjeet Singh," —an inscription strongly resembling the "God with us" of the Commonwealth of England. Professor Wilson (*Journ. Royal Asiatic Society*, No. xvii. p. 51.), thus seems scarcely justified in saying that Runjeet Singh deposed Nanuk and Govind, and the supreme ruler of the universe, and held himself to be the impersonation of the Khalsa!

With respect to the abstract excellence or moderation, or the practical efficiency or suitableness of the Sikh government, opinions will always, differ, as they will about all other governments. It is not simply an unmeaning truism to say, that the Sikh government suited the Sikhs well, for such a degree of fitness is one of the ends of all governments of ruling classes, and the adaptation has thus a degree of positive merit. In judging of *individuals*, mereover, the extent and the peculiarities of the civilization of their times should be remembered, and the present condition of the Punjab shows a combination of the characteristics of raising mediæval Europe and of the decaying Byzantine empire,—semi-barbarous in either light, but possessed at once of a native youthful vigor, and of an extraneous knowledge of many of the arts which adorn life in the most advanced stages of society.

The fact, again, that a city like Amritsir is the creation of the Sikhs, at once refutes many charges of oppression or misgovernment, and Col. Francklin only repeats the general opinion of the time when he says (*Life Shah Alum*, p. 77), that the lands under Sikh rule were cultivated with great assiduity. Mr. Masson could hear of no complaints in Mooltan (*Journeys*, i. 30, 398), and although Moorcroft notices the depressed condition of the Cashmeerees (*Travels*, i. 123), he does not notice the circumstance of

employed and treated with distinction.* It has been usual to attribute the superiority of the Sikh army to the labors of these two officers, and of their subsequent coadjutors, the Generals Court and Avitabile; but, in truth, the Sikh owes his excellence as a soldier, to his own hardihood of character, to that spirit of adaptation which distinguishes every new people, and to that feeling of a common interest and destiny implanted in him by his great teachers. The Rajpoots and Puthans are valiant and high-minded warriors: but their pride and their courage are personal only, and concern them as men of ancient family and noble lineage; they will do nothing unworthy of their birth, but they are indifferent to the political advancement of their race. The efforts of the Mahrattas in emancipating themselves from a foreign yoke, were neither guided nor strengthened by any distinct hope or desire. They became free, but knew not how to remain independent, and they allowed a crafty Brahmin to turn their aimless aspirations to his own profit, and to found a dynasty of "Peshwas" on the achievements of unlettered Soodras. Ambitious soldiers took a further advantage of the spirit called up by Sevajee, but as it was not sustained by any pervading religious principle of action, a few generations saw the race yield to the expiring efforts of Mahometanism, and the Mahrattas owe their present

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a grievous famine having occurred shortly before his visit, which drove thousands of the people to the plains of India, and he forgets that the valley had been under the sway of Afghan adventurers for many years, the severity of whose rule is noticed by Forster (*Travels*, ii. 26, &c.).

* Murray's *Runjeet Singh*, p. 131., &c.

position, as rulers, to the intervention of European strangers. The genuine Mahratta can scarcely be said to exist, and the two hundred thousand spearmen of the last century are once more shepherds and tillers of the ground. Similar remarks apply to the Goorkhas, that other Indian people which has risen to greatness in latter times by its own innate power, unmingled with religious hope. They became masters, but no peculiar institution formed the landmark of their thoughts, and the vitality of the original impulse seems fast waning before the superstition of an ignorant priesthood, and the turbulence of a feudal nobility. The difference between these races and the fifth tribe of Indian warriors, will be at once apparent. The Sikh looks before him only, the ductility of his youthful intellect readily receives the most useful impression, or takes the most advantageous form, and religious faith is ever present to sustain him under any adversity, and to assure him of an ultimate triumph.

The Rajpoot and Puthan will fight as Pirthee Raee and Jenghiz Khan waged war; they will ride on horses in tumultuous array and they will wield a sword and spear with individual dexterity: but neither of these cavaliers will deign to stand in regular ranks and to handle the musket of the infantry soldier, although the Mahometan has always been a brave and skilful server of heavy cannon. The Mahratta is equally averse to the European system of warfare, and the less stiffened Goorkha has only had the power or the opportunity of forming battalions of footmen, unsupported by an active cavalry and a trained artillery. The early force of the Sikhs was composed of horsemen, but they seem in-

tuitively to have adopted the new and formidable matchlock of recent times, instead of their ancestral bows, and the spear common to every nation. Mr. Forster noticed this peculiarity in 1783, and the advantage it gave in desultory warfare.* In 1805, Sir John Malcolm did not think the Sikh was better mounted than the Mahratta;† but, in 1810, Sir David Ochterloney considered that, in the confidence of untried strength, his great native courage would show him more formidable than a follower of Sindhia or Holkar, and readily lead him fo face a battery of well served guns.‡ The peculiar arm of the contending nations of the last century passed into a proverb, and the phrase, the Mahratta spear, the Afghan sword, the Sikh matchlock, and the English cannon, is still of common repetition; nor does it gratify the pride of the present masters of India, to hear their success attributed rather to the number and excellence of their artillery, than to that dauntless courage and firm array which have enabled the humble footmen to win most of those distant victories which add glory to the English name. Nevertheless it has always been the object of rival powers to obtain a numerous artillery; the battalions of De Boigne would never separate themselves from their cannon, and the presence of that formidable arm is yet, perhaps, essential to the full confidence of the British Sepoy.§

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* Forster, *Travels*, i. 332.

† Malcolm's *Sketch of the Sikhs*, p. 150, 151.

‡ Sir D. Ochterloney to Government, 1st Dec., 1810.

§ This feeling is well known to all who have had any experience of Indian troops. A gunner is a prouder man than a musketeer: when battalions are mutinous, they will not allow

Runjeet Singh said that, in 1805, he went to see the order of Lord Lake's army,* and it is known that in 1809 he admired and praised the discipline of Mr. Metcalfe's small escort, which repulsed the sudden onset of a body of enraged Akalees.† He began, after that period, to give his attention to the formation of regular infantry, and in 1812 Sir David Ochterloney saw two regiments of Sikhs, besides several of Hindostanees, drilled by men who had resigned or deserted the British service.‡ The next year the Muharaja talked of raising twenty-five battalions§, and his confidence in discipline was increased by the resistance which the Goorkhas offered to the British arms. He enlisted people of that

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strangers to approach their guns, and the best dispositioned regiments will scarcely leave them in the rear to go into action unencumbered, an instance of which happened in Perron's warfare with George Thomas. (*Major Smith's regular Corps in Indian Employ*, p. 24.)

The ranks of the British army are indeed filled with Rajpoots and Puthans so called, and also with Brahmins ; but nearly all are from the provinces of the Upper Ganges, the inhabitants of which have become greatly modified in character by complete conquest and mixture with strangers ; and, while they retain some of the distinguishing marks of their races, they are, as soldiers, the merest mercenaries, and do not possess the ardent and restless feeling, or that spirit of clanship, which characterise the more genuine descendants of Khutrees and Afghans. The remarks in the text thus refer especially to the Puthans of Rohilkhund and Hurreeana and similar scattered colonies, and to the yeomanry and little proprietors of Rajpootana.

* Moorcroft, *Travels*, i. 102.

† Murray's *Runjeet Singh*, p. 68.

‡ Sir D. Ochterloney to Government, 27th Feb., 1812.

§ Sir D. Ochterloney to Government, 4th March, 1813.

nation, but his attention was chiefly given to the instruction of his own countrymen, and in 1820 Mr. Moorcroft noticed with approbation the appearance of the Sikh foot soldier.* Runjeet Singh had not got his people to resign their customary weapons and order of battle without some trouble. He encouraged them by good pay, by personal attention to their drill and equipment, and by himself wearing the strange dress, and going through the formal exercise.† The old chiefs disliked the innovation, and Dehsa Singh Mujeetheea, the father of the present mechanic and disciplinarian Lehna Singh, assured the companions of Mr. Moorcroft, that Mooltan, and Peshawur, and Cashmeer, had all been won by the free Khalsa cavalier.‡ By degrees the infantry service came to be preferred, and, before Runjeet Singh died, he saw it regarded as the proper warlike array of his people. Nor did they give their heart to the musket alone, but were perhaps more readily brought to serve guns than to stand in even ranks as footmen.

Such was the state of change of the Sikh army, and such were the views of Runjeet Singh, when Generals Allard and Ventura obtained service in the Punjab. They were fortunate in having an excellent material to work with, and, like skilful officers, they made a good use of their means and opportunities. They gave a

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* Moorcroft, *Travels*, i. 98. There were at that time, as there are still, Goorkhas in the service of Lahore.

† The author owes this anecdote to Moonshee Shahamut Alee, otherwise favorably known to the public by his book on the Sikhs and Afghans.

‡ Moorcroft, *Travels*, i. 98.

moderate degree of precision and completeness to a system already introduced ; but their labors are more conspicuous in French words of command, in treble ranks, and in squares salient with guns, than in the ardent courage, the alert obedience, and the long endurance of fatigue, which distinguished the Sikh horsemen sixty years ago, and which preeminently characterise the Sikh footman of the present day among the other soldiers of India.* Neither did Generals Ventura and Allard, Court and Avitabile, ever assume to themselves the merit of having created the Sikh army, and perhaps their ability and independence of character added more to the general belief in European supe-

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* For notices of this endurance of fatigue, see Forster, *Travels*, i. 332, 333; Malcolm, *Sketch*, p. 141.; Mr. Masson, *Journeys*, i. 433, and Col. Steinbach, *Punjab*, p. 63, 64.

The general constitution of a Sikh regiment was a commandant and adjutant, with subordinate officers to each company. The men were paid by deputies of the "Bukhshee," or paymaster ; but the rolls were checked by "Mootsuddees," or clerks, who daily noted down whether the men were absent or present. To each regiment at least one "Grunt'hee," or reader of the scriptures, was attached, who, when not paid by the government, was sure of being supported by the men. The Grunt'h was usually deposited near the "jhunda." or flag, which belonged to the regiment, and which represented its head quarters. Light tents and beasts of burden were allowed in fixed proportions to each battalion, and the state also provided two cooks, or rather bakers, for each company, who baked the men's cakes after they had themselves kneaded them, or who, in some instances, provided unleavened loaves for those of their own or an inferior race. In cantonments the Sikh soldiers lived to some extent in barracks, and not each man in a separate hut, a custom which should be introduced into the British service.

riority, than all their instructions to the real efficiency of the Sikhs as soldiers.

When a boy, Runjeet Singh was betrothed, as has been related, to Mehtab Kour, the daughter of Goorbukhsh Singh, the young heir of the Kuneia (or Ghunnee) chiefship, who fell in battle with his father Muha Singh. Sudda Kour, the mother of the girl, possessed a high spirit and was ambitious of power, and, on the death of the Kuneia leader, Jaee Singh, about 1793, her influence in the affairs of the confederacy became paramount. She encouraged her young son-in-law to set aside the authority of his own widow mother, and at the age of seventeen the future Muharaja is not only said to have taken upon himself the management of his affairs, but to have had his mother put to death as an adultress. The support of Sudda Kour was of great use to Runjeet Singh in the beginning of his career, and the co-operation of the Kuneia Misl mainly enabled him to master Lahore and Amritsir. Her hope seems to have been that, as the grandmother of the chosen heir of Runjeet Singh, and as a chieftainess in her own right, she would be able to exercise a commanding influence in the affairs of the Sikhs; but her daughter was childless, and Runjeet Singh himself was equally able and wary. In 1807 it was understood that Mehtab Kour was pregnant, and it is believed that she was really delivered of a daughter; but, on Runjeet Singh's return from an expedition, he was presented with two boys as his offspring. The Muharaja doubted: and perhaps he always gave credence to the report that Sher Singh was the son of a carpenter, and Tara Singh the child of a weaver, yet they continued to be brought up under

the care of their reputed grandmother, as if their parentage had been admitted. But Sudda Kour perceived that she could obtain no power in the names of the children, and the disappointed woman addressed the English authorities in 1810, and denounced her son-in-law as having usurped her rights, and as resolved on war with his new allies. Her communications received some attention, but she was unable to organize an insurrection, and she became in a manner reconciled to her position. In 1820, Sher Singh was virtually adopted by the Muharaja, with the apparent object of finally setting aside the power of his mother-in-law. She was required to assign half of the lands of the Kuneia chiefship for the maintenance of the youth ; but she refused, and she was in consequence seized and imprisoned, and her whole possessions confiscated. The little estate of Whudnee, to the south of the Sutlej, was however restored to her through British intervention, as has already been mentioned.*

Runjeet Singh was also betrothed, when a boy, to the daughter of Khuzan Singh, a chief of the Nukeia confederacy, and by her he had a son in the year 1802, who was named Khurruk Singh, and brought up as his heir. The youth was married, in the year 1812, to the daughter of a Kuneia leader, and the nuptials were celebrated amid many rejoicings. In 1816 the Muharaja placed the mother under some degree of restraint owing to her mismanagement of the estates assigned for the maintenance of the prince, and he en-

* Compare Murray's *Runjeet Singh*, pp. 46—51, 63, 127, 128, 134, 135. See also Sir D. Ochterloney to Government, 1st and 10th Dec. 1810, and p. 170 of this volume.

deavored to rouse the spirit of his son to exertion and enterprize; but he was of a weak and indolent character, and the attempt was vain. In the year 1821 a son was born to Khurruk Singh, and the child, Nao Nihal Singh, soon came to be regarded as the heir of the Punjab.*

Such were the domestic relations of Runjeet Singh, but he shared largely in the opprobrium heaped upon his countrymen as the practisers of every immorality, and he is not only represented to have frequently indulged in strong drink, but to have occasionally outraged decency by appearing in public inebriated, and surrounded with courtezans.† In his earlier days one of these women, named Mohra, obtained a great ascendancy over him, and, in 1811, he caused coins or medals to be struck bearing her name; but it would be idle to regard Runjeet Singh as an habitual drunkard or as one greatly devoted to sensual pleasures; and it would be equally unreasonable to believe the mass of the Sikh people as wholly lost to shame, and as revellers in every vice which disgraces humanity. Doubtless the sense of personal honor and of female purity, is less high among the rude and ignorant of every age, than among the informed and the civilized; and when the whole peasantry of a country suddenly attain to power and wealth, and are freed from many of the restraints of society, an unusual proportion will necessarily resign themselves to the seductions of pleasure, and freely give

* Compare *Murray's Runjeet Singh*, pp. 48, 53, 90, 91, 112, 129.

† Compare Murray's *Runjeet Singh*, p. 85.

way to their most depraved appetites. But such excesses are nevertheless exceptional to the general usage, and those who vilify the Sikhs at one time, and describe their long and rapid marches at another, should remember the contradiction, and reflect that what common sense and the better feelings of our nature have always condemned, can never be the ordinary practice of a nation. The armed defenders of a country cannot be kept under the same degree of moral restraint as ordinary citizens, with quiet habits, fixed abodes, and watchful pastors, and it is illogical to apply the character of a few dissolute chiefs and licentious soldiers to the thousands of hardy peasants and industrious mechanics, and even generally to that body of brave and banded men which furnishes the most obvious examples of degradation.* The husbandman of the Punjab, as of other provinces in Upper India, is confined to his cakes of millet or wheat and to a draught of water from the well; the soldier fares not much better, and neither indulge in strong liquors, except upon occasions

* Colonel Steinbach (*Punjab*, p. 76, 77.) admits general simplicity of diet; but he also makes some revolting practices universal. Capt. Murray (*Runjeet Singh*, p. 85.), and Mr. Masson (*Journeys*, i. 435.), are likewise somewhat sweeping in their condemnations, and even Mr. Elphinstone (*Hist. of India*, ii. 565) makes the charge of culpable devotion to sensual pleasures very comprehensive. The morals, or the manners, of a people, however, should not be deduced from a few examples of profligacy; but the Indians equally exaggerate with regard to Europeans, and, in pictorial or pantomimic pieces they usually represent Englishmen drinking and swearing in the society of courtezans, and as equally prompt to use their weapons with or without a reason.

of rejoicing. The indolent man of wealth or station, or the more idle religious fanatic, may seek excitement, or a refuge from the vacancy of his mind, in drugs and drink; but expensiveness of diet is rather a Mahometan than an Indian characteristic, and the Europeans carry their potations and the pleasures of the table to an excess unknown to the Turk and Persian, and which greatly scandalize the frugal Hindoo.*

Yet Runjeet Singh not only yielded more than was becoming to the promptings of his appetites, but, like all despots and solitary authorities, he laid himself open to the charge of extravagant partiality and favoritism. He had placed himself in some degree in opposition to the whole Sikh people; the free followers of Govind could not be the observant slaves of an equal member of the Khalsa, and he sought for strangers whose applause would be more ready if less sincere, and in whom he could repose some confidence as the creatures of his favor. The first who thus rose to distinction was Khooshhal Singh, a Brahmin from near Seharunpoor, who enlisted in one of the first raised regiments, and next became a runner or footman on the Muharaja's establishment. He attracted Runjeet Singh's notice, and was made Jemadar of the Deeoree, or master of the entry, about the year 1811. His brother seemed likely to supplant him, but his refusal to become a Sikh favored Khooshhal Singh's continuance

* Forster (*Travels*, i. 333) notices the temperance of the Sikhs, and their forbearance from many enervating sensual pleasures, and he quotes, he thinks, Colonel Polier to a similar effect. Malcolm (*Sketch*, p. 141.) likewise describes the Sikhs as hardy and simple; but, doubtless, as the power of the nation has increased since these times, luxuries and vicious pleasures have, in numerous instances, followed wealth and indolence.

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in power, until both yielded to the Jummoo Rajpoots in the year 1820. Golab Singh, the eldest of three sons, claimed that his grandfather was the brother of the well known Runjeet Deo; but the family was perhaps illegitimate, and had become improverished, and Golab Singh took service as a horseman in a band commanded by Jemadar Khooshhal Singh. He sent for his second brother, Dhian Singh, and then, again, like the reigning favorite, they both became running footmen under Runjeet Singh's eye. Their joint assiduity, and the graceful bearing of the younger man, again attracted the Muharaja's notice, and Dhian Singh speedily took the place of the Brahmin chamberlain, without, however, consigning him to neglect, for he retained his estates and his position as a noble. Golab Singh obtained a petty command and signalized himself by the seizure of the turbulent Mahometan Chief of Rajaoree. Jummoo was then conferred in jagheer or fief upon the family, and the youngest brother, Soochet Singh, as well as the two elder, were one by one raised to the rank of Raja, and rapidly obtained an engrossing and prejudicial influence in the counsels of the Muharaja, excepting, perhaps, in connection with his English relations, the importance of which required and obtained the exercise of his own unbiassed opinion. The smooth and crafty Golab Singh ordinarily remained in the hills, using Sikh means to extend his own authority over his brother Rajpoots, and eventually into Ludakh; the less able, but more polished Dhian Singh, remained continually in attendance upon the Muharaja, ever on the watch, in order that he might anticipate his wishes; while the elegant Soochet Singh fluttered as a gay courtier and gallant soldier, without

grasping at power or creating enemies. The nominal fukeer or devotee, the Mahometan Uzeezooddeen, never held the place of an ordinary favorite, but he attached himself at an early period to Runjeet Singh's person, and was honored and trusted as one equally prudent and faithful; and, during the ascendancy both of Khooshhal Singh and Dhian Singh, he was always consulted, and invariably made the medium of communication with the British authorities. The above were the most conspicuous persons in the Lahore court; but the mind of Runjeet Singh was never prostrate before that of others, and he conferred the government of Mooltan on the discreet Sawun Mull, and rewarded the military talents and genuine Sikh feelings of Hurree Singh Nulwa by giving him the command on the Peshawur frontier; while his ancient companion, Futteh Singh Alhoowaleea, remained, with increased wealth, the only representative of the original "Misls," and Dehsa Singh Mujeetheea enjoyed the Muharaja's esteem and confidence as govenor of Amritsir and of the Jalundhur Dooab.*

* Compare Murray's *Runjeet Singh*, p. 84, 113, 125, 147, *Moonshee Shahamut Alee's Sikhs and Afghans*, ch. iv. and vii.; and, with regard to Uzeezooddeen and Dehsa Singh, see Moorcroft, *Travels*, i. 94, 98, 110, &c. Lieut.-Colonel Lawrence's work, *The Adventurer in the Punjab*, and Capt. Osborne's *Court and Camp of Runjeet Singh*, likewise contain some curious information about the Muharaja's chiefs and favorites; and the author has had the further advantage of referring to a memorandum on the subject, drawn up by Mr. Clerk for Lord Ellenborough. Mahkum Chund has already been alluded to (see *ante*, p. 196.), and the Brahmin Deewan Chund may also be mentioned. He was the real commander when Mooltan was stormed, and he led the advance when Cashmeer was at last seized. Of genuine Sikhs, too, Mit'h Singh Behraneea was distinguished as a brave and generous soldier.

CHAPTER VII.

FROM THE ACQUISITION OF MOOLTAN, CASHMEER, AND PESHAWUR, TO THE DEATH OF RUNJEET SINGH.

1824—1839.

Changed relations of the English and Sikhs.—Miscellaneous transactions.—Capt. Wade, the political agent for Sikh affairs.—The Jummoo Rajas.—Syed Ahmed Shah's insurrection at Peshawur.—The fame of Runjeet Singh.—The meeting at Rooper with Lord William Bentinck.—Runjeet Singh's views on Sindh, and the English scheme of navigating the Indus.—Shah Shooja's expedition of 1833-35, and Runjeet Singh's regular occupation of Peshawur.—Ludakh reduced by Raja Golab Singh.—Runjeet Singh's claims on Shikarpoor and designs on Sindh crossed by the commercial policy of the English.—The connection of the English with the Barukzaees of Afghanistan.—Dost Mahomed retires before Runjeet Singh.—The Sikhs defeated by the Afghans.—The marriage of Nao Nihal Singh.—Sir Henry Fane.—The English, Dost Mahomed, and the Russians, and the restoration of Shah Shooja.—Runjeet Singh feels curbed by the English.—The death of Runjeet Singh.

RUNJEET SINGH had brought Peshawur under his sway, but the complete reduction of the province was yet to cost him an arduous warfare of many years. He had become master of the Punjab almost unheeded by the English; but the position and views of that

people had changed since they asked his aid against the armies of Napoleon. The Jumna and the sea-coast of Bombay were no longer the proclaimed limits of their empire ; the Nerbudda had been crossed, the states of Rajpootana had been rendered tributary, and, with the laudable design of diffusing wealth and of linking remote provinces together in the strong and useful bonds of commerce, they were about to enter upon schemes of navigation and of trade, which caused them to deprecate the ambition of the King of the Sikhs, and led them, by sure yet unforeseen steps, to absorb his dominion in their own, and to grasp, perhaps inscrutably to chasten, with the cold unfeeling hand of worldly rule, the youthful spirit of social change and religious reformation evoked by the genius of Nanuk and Govind.

In the year 1824, the turbulent Mahometan tribes on either side of the Indus above Attok arose in rebellion, and the Sikh general, Hurree Singh, received a severe check. The Muharaja hastened by forced marches to that quarter, and again forded the rapid, stony-bedded Indus; but the mountaineers dispersed at his approach, and his display of power was hardly rewarded by Yar Mahomed Khan's renewed protestations of allegiance.* In 1825 Runjeet Singh's attention was amused with overtures from the Goorkhas, who forgot his former rivalry in the overwhelming greatness of the English ; but the precise object of the Nepalese did not transpire, and the restless spirit of the Sikh chief soon led him to the Chenab, with the

* Capt. Murray's *Runjeet Singh*, p. 141, 142.

design of seizing Shikarpore.* The occurrence of a scarcity in Sindh, and perhaps the rumors of the hostile preparations of the English against Bhurtpoor, induced him to return to his capital before the end of the year. The *Jat* usurper of the Jumna asked his brother *Jat* of the Ravee to aid him; but the Muharaja affected to discredit the mission, and so satisfied the British authorities without compromising himself with the master of a fortress which had successfully resisted the disciplined troops and the dreaded artillery of his neighbors.† But about the same time Runjeet Singh likewise found reason to distrust the possessors of strongholds; and Futteh Singh Alhoowaleea was constrained by his old brother in arms to leave a masonry citadel unfinished, and was further induced by his own fears to fly to the south of the Sutlej. He was assured of English protection in his ancestral estates in the Sirhind province, but Runjeet Singh, remembering perhaps the joint treaty with Lord Lake, earnestly endeavored to allay the fears of the fugitive, and to recall a chief so dangerous in the hands of his allies. Futteh Singh returned to Lahore in 1827; he was received with marked honour, and he was confirmed in nearly all his possessions.‡

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* Agent at Delhi to Capt. Murray, 18th March, 1825, and Capt. Murray in reply, 28th March. Compare also Murray's *Runjeet Singh*, p. 144.

† Capt. Murray to the Resident at Delhi, 1st and 3d Oct., 1825, and Capt. Wade to Capt. Murray, 5th Oct., 1825.

‡ Resident at Delhi to Capt. Murray, 13th Jan., 1826, and Capt. Murray's *Runjeet Singh*, p. 144. The old chief had, as early as 1811, desired to be regarded as separately connected with the

Towards the end of 1826, Runjeet Singh was attacked with sickness, and he sought the aid of European skill. Dr. Murray, a surgeon in the British-Indian army, was sent to attend him, and he remained at Lahore for some time, although the Muharaja was more disposed to trust to time and abstinence, or to the empirical remedies of his own physicians, than to the prescribers of unknown drugs and the practisers of new ways. Runjeet Singh, nevertheless, liked to have his foreign medical adviser near him, as one from whom information could be gained, and whom it might be advantageous to please. He seemed anxious about the proposed visit of Lord Amherst, the Governor General, to the northern provinces; he asked about the qualities of the Burmese troops, and the amount of money demanded by the English victors at the end of the war with that people; he was inquisitive about the mutiny of a regiment of Sepoys at Barrackpoor, and he wished to know whether native troops had been employed in quelling it.* On the arrival of Lord Amherst at Simlah, in 1827, a further degree of intimacy became inevitable; a mission of welcome and inquiry was sent

English, so fearful had he become of his "Turban-brother." (Government to Sir D. Ochterloney, 4th October, 1811)

The cis-Sutlej Mahometan Chief of Mumdot, formerly of Kussoor, fled and returned about the same time as Futteh Singh, for similar reasons, and after making similar endeavours to be recognised as an English dependent. (Government to Resident at Delhi, 28th April, 1827, with correspondence to which it relates, and compare Murray's *Runjeet Singh*, p. 145.)

* Capt. Wade to the Resident at Delhi, 24th Sept. and 30th Nov., 1826, and 1st Jan. 1827. Compare Murray's *Runjeet Singh* p. 145.

to wait upon his lordship, and the compliment was returned by the deputation of Captain Wade, the British frontier authority, to the Muharaja's court.* During the following year the English commander-in-chief arrived at Loodiana, and Runjeet Singh, sent an agent to convey to him his good wishes; but an expected invitation to visit the strongholds of the Punjab was not given to the captor of Bhurtpoor.†

The little business to be transacted between the British and Sikh governments was entrusted to the management of the resident at Delhi, who gave his orders to Captain Murray, the political agent at Ambala, who again had under him an assistant, Captain Wade, at

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* Government to Capt. Wade, 2d May, 1827.

† Murray's *Runjeet Singh*, p. 147. About this time the journeyings and studies of the enthusiastic scholar Csoma de Koros, and the establishment of Simlah as a British post, had made the Chinese of Tibet as curious about the English in one way as Runjeet Singh was in another. Thus the authorities at Garo appear to have addressed the authorities of Bissehir, an English dependency, saying, "that in ancient times there was no men-"tion of the 'Feelingpa,' (*i. e.* Feringhees or Franks, a bad and "small people, whereas now many visited the upper counties "every year, and had caused the chief of Bissehir to make pre-"parations for their movements. The Great Lama was displeased, "and armies had been ordered to be watchful. The English "should be urged to keep within their own limits, or, if they want-"ed an alliance, they could go by sea to Pekin. The people of "Bissehir should not rely on the wealth and the expertness in "warfaring of the English : the emperor was 30 *puktsut* (120 "miles) higher than they ; he ruled over the four elements ; a war "would involve the six nations of Asia in calamities ; the English "should remain within their boundaries ;"—and so on, in a strain of deprecation and hyperbole. (Political Agent Subathoo to Resident at Delhi, 26th March, 1827.)

Loodiana, mainly in connection with the affairs of the garrison of that place. When Captain Wade was at Lahore, the Muharaja expressed a wish that, for the sake of despatch in business, the agency for his Cis-Sutlej possessions should be vested in the officer at Loodiana subordinate to the resident at Delhi, but independent of the officer at Ambala.* This wish was complied with ;† but in attempting to define the extent of the territories in question, it was found that there were several doubtful points to be settled. Runjeet Singh claimed supremacy over Chumkowr, and Anundpoor Makhowal, and other places belonging to the Sodhees, or collateral representatives of Gooroo Govind. He also claimed Whudnee, which, a few years before, had been wrested from him on the plea that it was his mother-in-law's ; and he claimed Feerozpoor, then held by a childless widow, and also all the Alhoowaleea districts, besides others which need not be particularized.‡ The claims of the Muharaja over Feerozpoor and the ancestral possessions of Futteh Singh Alhoowaleea were rejected ; but the British title to

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* Capt. Wade to Resident at Delhi, 20th June, 1827.

† Government to Resident at Delhi, 4th Oct., 1827.

‡ Capt. Wade to the Resident at Delhi, 20th Jan., 1828, and Capt. Murray to the same, 19th Feb. 1828.

In the case of Feerozpoor, Government subsequently decided (Government to Agent at Delhi, 24th Nov., 1838), that certain collateral heirs (who had put in a claim) could not succeed, as, according to Hindoo Law and Sikh usage, no right of descent existed after a division had taken place So uncertain, however, is the practice of the English, that one or more precedents in favour of the Feerozpoor claimants might readily be found within the range of cases connected with the Sikh states.

supremacy over Whudnee could no longer, it was found, be maintained. The claims of Lahore to Chumkowr and Anundpoor Makhowal were expediently admitted, for the British right did not seem worth maintaining, and the affairs of the priestly class of Sikhs could be best managed by a ruler of their own faith.* Runjeet Singh disliked the loss of Feerozpoor, which the English long continued to admire as a commanding position;† but the settlement generally was such as seemed to lessen the chances of future collision between the two governments.

Runjeet Singh's connection with the English thus became more and more close, and about the same time he began to resign himself in many instances to the views of his new favorites of Jummoo. The Muharaja had begun to notice the boyish promise of Heera Singh, the son of Dhian Singh, and he may have been equally pleased with the native simplicity, and with the tutored deference, of the child. He gave him the title of Raja, and his father, true to the Indian feeling, was desirous of establishing the purity of his descent by marrying his son into a family of local power and of spotless genealogy. The betrothal of a daughter of the deceased Sunsar Chund of Kanggra was demanded in the year

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* Government to the Resident at Delhi, 14th Nov., 1828.

† In 1823 Capt. Murray talked of the "strong and important fortress" of Feerozpoor having been recovered by Runjeet Singh, for the widow proprietress from whom it had been seized by a claimant (Captain Murray to the Agent at Delhi, 20th July, 1823), and the supreme authorities similarly talked (Government to Agent at Delhi, 30th Jan., 1824) of the political and military advantages of Feerozpoor over Loodiana.

1828, and the reluctant consent of the new chief, Unrodh Chund, was obtained when he unwittingly had put himself wholly in the power of Dhian Singh by visiting Lahore with his sisters for the purpose of joining in the nuptial ceremonies of the son of Futteh Singh Alhoowaleea. The proposed degradation rendered the mother of the girls, perhaps, more indignant than the head of the family, and she contrived to escape with them to the south of the Sutlej. Unrodh Chund was required to bring them back, but he himself also fled, and his possessions were seized. The mother died of grief and vexation, and the son followed her to the grave, after idly attempting to induce the English to restore him by force of arms to his little principality. Sunsar Chund had left several illegitimate children, and in 1829, the disappointed Muharaja endeavoured to obtain some revenge by marrying two of the daughters himself, and by elevating a son to the rank of Raja, and investing him with an estate out of his father's chiefship. The marriage of Heera Singh to a maiden of his own degree, was celebrated during the same year with much splendor, and the greatness of Runjeet Singh's name induced even the chiefs living under British protection to offer their congratulations and their presents on the occasion.*

In the meanwhile a formidable insurrection had been organized in the neighbourhood of Peshawur, by an unheeded person and in an unlooked-for manner. One Ahmed Shah, a Mahometan of a family of Syeds of Ba-

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* Murray's *Runjeet Singh*, p. 147, 148, and Resident at Delhi to Government, 28th Oct. 1828.

reilly in Upper India, had been a follower of the great mercenary leader, Ameer Khan, but he lost his employment when the military force of his chief was broken up on the successful termination of the campaign against the joint Mahratta and Pindarra powers, and after Ameer Khan's own recognition by the English as a dependent prince. The Syed went to Delhi, and a preacher of that city, named Abdool Uzeez, declared himself greatly edified by the superior sanctity of Ahmed, who denounced the corrupt forms of worship then prevalent, and endeavored to enforce attention to the precepts of the Koran alone, without reference to the expositions of the early fathers. His reputation increased, and two Molvees, Ismaeel and Abdool Haee, of some learning, but doubtful views, attached themselves to the Syed as his humble disciples and devoted followers.* A pil-

* A book was composed by Molvee Ismaeel, on the part of Syed Ahmed, in the Oordoo, or vernacular language of Upper India, at once exhortative and justificatory of his views. It is called the Tukveea-ool-Iman, or Basis of the Faith, and it was printed in Calcutta. It is divided into two portions, of which the first only is understood to be the work of Ismaeel, the second part being inferior, and the production of another person.

In the preface the writer deprecates the opinion "that the wise "and learned alone can comprehend God's word. God himself "had said a prophet had been raised up among the rude and "ignorant for their instruction, and that He, the Lord, had ren- "dered obedience easy. There were two things essential: a "belief in the unity of God, which was to know no other, and a "knowledge of the prophet, which was obedience to the law. "Many held the saying of the saints to be their guide; but the "word of God was alone to be attended to, although the writings "of the pious, which agreed with the Scriptures, might be read "for edification."

grimage was preached as a suitable beginning for all undertakings, and Ahmed's journey to Calcutta in 1822 for the purpose of embarkation, was one of triumph, although his proceedings were little noticed until his presence in a large city gave him numerous congregations. He set sail for Mecca and Medina, and he is commonly believed, but without reason, to have visited Constantinople. After an absence of four years he returned to Delhi, and called upon the faithful to follow him in a war against infidels. He acted as if he meant by unbelievers the Sikhs alone, but his precise objects are imperfectly understood. He was careful not to offend the English; but the mere *supremacy* of a remote nation over a wide and populous country, gave him ample opportunities for unheeded agitation. In 1826 he left Delhi with perhaps five hundred attendants, and it was arranged that other bands should follow in succession under appointed leaders. He made some stay at Tonk, the residence of his old master, Ameer Khan, and the son of the chief, the present Nuwab, was enrolled among the disciples of the new saint. He obtained considerable assistance, at least in money, from the youthful convert, and he proceeded through the desert to Kheirpoor in Sindh, where he was well received by Meer Roostum Khan, and where he awaited the junction of the "Ghazees," or fighters for the faith, who were following him. Ahmed marched to Candahar, but his projects were mistrusted or misunderstood; he received no encouragement from the Barukzaee brothers in possession, and he proceeded northward through the Ghiljaee country, and in the beginning of 1827 he crossed the Caubul river to Punjtar

in the Eusofzaee hills, between Peshawur and the Indus.*

The Punjtar family is of some consequence among the warlike Eusofzaees, and as the tribe had become apprehensive of the designs of Yar Mahomed Khan, whose dependence on Runjeet Singh secured him from danger on the side of Caubul, the Syed and his "Ghazees" were hailed as deliverers, and the authority or supremacy of Ahmed was generally admitted. He led his ill-equipped host to attack a detachment of Sikhs, which had been moved forward to Akora, a few miles

The first chapter treats of the unity of God, and in it the writer deprecates the supplication of saints, angels, &c. as impious. He declares the reasons given for such worship to be futile, and to show an utter ignorance of God's word. "The ancient idolaters "had likewise said that they merely venerated powers and divini- "ties, and did not regard them as the equal of the Almighty, but "God himself had answered these heathens. Likewise the Chris- "tians had been admonished for giving to dead monks and friars "the honour due to the Lord. God is alone, and companion he "has none; prostration and adoration are due to him, and to no "other." The writer proceeds in a similar strain, but assumes some doubtful positions, as that Mahomet says God is one, and man learns from his parents that he was born; he believes his mother, and yet he distrusts the apostle: or that an evil-doer who has faith is a better man than the most pious idolater.

* Compare Murray's *Runjeet Singh* p. 145, 146. About Syed Ahmed, the author has learnt much from the "Ghazee's" brother-in-law, and from a respectable Molvee, who likewise followed his fortunes, and both of whom are now in honorable employ in the chiefship of Tonk. He has likewise learnt many particulars from Moonshee Shahamut Alee, and especially from Peer Ibrahim Khan, a straight-forward and intelligent Puthan of Kussoor, in the British service, who thinks Ahmed right, notwithstanding the holy neighborhood of Pakputtun, Mooltan, and Ootch! Indeed, most

above Attok, under the command of Boodh Singh Sindhanwala, of the same family as the Muharaja. The Sikh commander entrenched his position, and repulsed the tumultuous assault of the mountaineers with considerable loss, but as he could not follow up his success, the fame and the strength of the Syed continued to increase, and Yar Mahomed deemed it prudent to enter into an agreement obliging him to respect the territories of the Eusofzaees. The curbed governor of Peshawur is accused of a base attempt to remove Ahmed by poison, and, in the year 1829, the fact or the report was made use of by the Syed as a reason for appealing to arms. Yar Mahomed was defeated and mortally wounded, and Peshawur was perhaps saved to his brother, Sooltan Mahomed, by the presence of a Sikh force under the Prince Sher Singh and General Ventura, which had been moved to that quarter under pretence of securing for the Muharaja a long promised horse of famous breed named Leila, the match of one of equal renown named Kuhhar, which Runjeet Singh had already prized himself on obtaining from the Barukzaee brothers.*

The Sikh troops withdrew to the Indus, leaving

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educated Mahometans admit the reasonableness of his doctrines, and the able Regent-Begum of Bhopal, is not indisposed to emulate the strictness of the Chief of Tonk, as an abhorrer of vain ceremonies. Among humbler people the Syed likewise obtained many admirers, and it is said that his exhortations generally were so efficacious, that even the tailors of Delhi were moved to scrupulously return remnants of cloth to their employers!

* Compare Murray's *Runjeet Singh*, p. 146, 149. The followers of Syed Ahmed believe that poison was administered, and describe the "Ghazee," as suffering much from its effects.

Sooltan Mahomed Khan and his brothers to guard their fief or dependency as they could, and it would even seem that Runjeet Singh hoped the difficulties of their position, and the insecurity of the province, would justify its complete reduction.* But the influence of Syed Ahmed reached to Cashmeer, and the mountaineers between that valley and the Indus were unwilling subjects of Lahore. Ahmed crossed the river in June, 1830, and planned an attack upon the Sikh force commanded by Hurree Singh Nulwa and General Allard ; but he was beaten off, and forced to retire to the west of the river. In a few months he was strong enough to attack Sooltan Mahomed Khan ; the Barukzaee was defeated, and Peshawur was occupied by the Syed and his "Ghazees." His elation kept pace with his success, and, according to tradition, already busy with his career, he proclaimed himself Caliph, and struck a coin in the name of "Ahmed the Just, the defender of the faith, the glitter of whose sword scattereth destruction among infidels." The fall of Peshawur caused some alarm in Lahore, and the force on the Indus was strengthened, and placed under the command of Prince Sher Singh. The petty Mahometan chiefs generally,

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General Ventura at last succeeded in obtaining *a* Leila, but that the real horse, so named, was transferred, is doubtful, and at one time it was declared to be dead. (Capt. Wade to the Resident, Delhi, May 17th, 1829.)

* Capt. Wade to the Resident, Delhi, 13th Sept., 1830. The Muharaja also reserved a cause of quarrel with the Barukzaees, on account of their reduction of the Khuttuks, a tribe which Runjeet Singh said Futteh Khan, the Vuzeer, had agreed to leave independet (Capt. Wade to Government, 9th Dec., 1831.)

with whom self-interest overcame faith, were averse to the domination of the Indian adventurer, and the imprudence of Syed Ahmed gave umbrage to his Eusofzaee adherents. He had levied from the peasants a tithe of their goods, and this measure caused little or no dissatisfaction, for it agreed with their notion of the rights of a religious teacher; but his decree that all the young women of marriageable age should be at once wedded, interfered with the profits of Afghan parents, proverbially avaricious, and who usually disposed of their daughters to the wealthiest bridegrooms. But when Syed Ahmed was accused, perhaps unjustly, of assigning the maidens one by one to his needy Indian followers, his motives were impugned, and the discontent was loud. Early in November, 1830, he was constrained to relinquish Peshawur to Sooltan Mahomed at a fixed tribute, and he proceeded to the left bank of the Indus to give battle to the Sikhs. The Syed depended chiefly on the few "Ghazees" who had followed his fortunes throughout, and on the insurrectionary spirit of the Mozufferabad and other chiefs, for his Eusofzaee adherents had greatly decreased. The hill "khans" were soon brought under subjection by the efforts of Sher Singh and the governor of Cashmeer; yet Ahmed continued active, and, in a desultory warfare amid rugged mountains, success for a time attended him; but, during a cessation of the frequent conflicts, he was surprised early in May, 1831, at a place called Balakot, and fallen upon and slain. The Eusofzaees at once expelled his deputies, the "Ghazees" dispersed in disguise, and the family of the Syed hastened to Hindostan to find an

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honorable asylum with their friend the Nuwab of Tonk.*

The fame of Runjeet Singh was now at its height, and his friendship was sought by distant sovereigns. In 1829, agents from Belotchistan brought horses to the Sikh ruler, and hoped that the frontier posts of Hurrund and Dajel, westward of the Indus, which his feudatory of Buhawulpoor had usurped, would be restored to the Khan.† The Muharaja was likewise in communication with Shah Mehmood of Heerat.‡ and in 1830 he was invited, by the Baeeza Baee of Gwalior, to honor the nuptials of the young Sindhia with his presence.§ The English were at the same time not without a suspicion that he had opened a correspondence with Russia,|| and they were themselves about to flatter

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* Capt. Wade to Resident at Delhi, 21st March, 1831, and other dates in that and the previous year. Compare Murray's *Runject Singh*, p. 150. The followers of the Syed strenuously deny his assnmption of the title of Caliph, his new coinage, and his bestowal of Eusofzaee maidens on his Indian foilowers.

† Capt. Wade to the Resident at Delhi, 3rd May, 1829, and 29th April, 1830. Hurrund was once a place of considerable repute. (See *Munshee Mohun Lal s Journal*, under date 3rd March 1836.) The Buhawulpoor Memoirs show that the Nuwab was aided by the treachery of others in acquiring it. The place had to be retaken by General Ventura (as the author learnt from that officer), when Buhawul Khan was deprived of his territories west of the Sutlej.

‡ Capt. Wade to Resident at Delhi, 21st Jan., 1829, and 3rd Dec., 1830.

§ Capt. Wade to Resident at Delhi, 7th April, 1830. The Muharaja declined the invitation, saying Sindhia was not at Lahore when *his* son was married.

|| Capt. Wade to Resident at Delhi, 24th August, 1830.

him as one necessary to the fulfilment of their expanding views of just influence and profitable commerce.

In the beginning of 1831, Lord William Bentinck, the Governor General of India, arrived at Simlah, and a Sikh deputation waited upon his Lordship to convey to him Runjeet Singh's complimentary wishes for his own welfare and the prosperity of his Government. The increasing warmth of the season prevented the despatch of a formal return mission, but Captain Wade, the political agent at Loodiana, was made the bearer of a letter to the Muharaja, thanking him for his attention. The principal duty of the agent was, however, to ascertain whether Runjeet Singh wished, and would propose, to have an interview with Lord William Bentinck, for it was a matter in which it was thought the English viceroy could not take the initiative.* The object of the Governor General was mainly to give the world an impression of complete unanimity between the two states ; but the Muharaja wished to strengthen his own authority, and to lead the Sikh public to believe his dynasty was acknowledged as the proper head of the "Khalsa," by the predominant English rulers. The able chief, Hurree Singh, was one of those most averse to the recognition of the right of the Prince Khurruk Singh, and the heir apparent himself would seem to have been aware of the feelings of the Sikh people, for he had the year before opened a correspondence with the Governor of Bombay, as if to derive hope from the

* Government to Capt. Wade, 28th April, 1831, and Murray's *Runjeet Singh*, p. 162.

vague terms of a complimentary reply.* Runjeet Singh thus readily proposed a meeting, and one took place at Rooper, on the banks of the Sutlej, in the month of October (1831). A present of horses from the King of England had, in the mean time, reached Lahore, by the Indus and Ravee rivers, under the escort of Lieutenant Burnes, and during one of the several interviews with the Governor-General, Runjeet Singh had sought for and obtained a written assurance of perpetual friendship.† The impression went abroad that his family would be supported by the English Government, and ostensibly Runjeet Singh's objects seemed wholly, as they had been partly, gained. But his mind was not set at ease about Sindh: vague accounts had reached him of some design with regard to that country; he plainly hinted his own schemes, and observed, the Ameers had no efficient troops, and that they could not be well disposed towards the English, as they had thrown difficulties in the way of Lieutenant Burnes' progress.‡

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* With regard to this interchange of letters, see the Persian Secretary to the Political Secretary at Bombay, 6th July, 1830.

That Runjeet Singh was jealous, personally, of Hurree Singh, or that the servant would have proved a traitor to the living master is not probable: but Hurree Singh was a zealous Sikh and an ambitious man, and Khurruk Singh was always full of doubts and apprehensions with respect to his succession and even his safety. Runjeet Singh's anxiety with regard to the meeting at Rooper, exaggerated, perhaps, by M. Allard, may be learnt from Mr. Prinsep's account in Murray's *Runjeet Singh*, p. 162.

† Murray's *Runjeet Singh*, p. 166.

‡ Murray's *Runjeet Singh*, p. 167. This opinion of Runjeet Singh about Sindhian troops, may not be pleasing to the victors of Dubba and Meeanee, although the Muharaja impugned not their

But the Governor-General would not divulge to his inquiring guest and ally, the tenor of propositions already on their way to the chiefs of Sindh, confessedly lest the Muharaja should at once endeavour to counteract his peaceful and beneficial intentions.* Runjeet Singh may or may not have felt that he was distrusted, but as he was to be a party to the opening of the navigation of the Indus, and as the project had been matured, it would have better suited the character and the position of the British Government had no concealment been attempted.

The traveller Moorcroft had been impressed with the use which might be made of the Indus as a channel of British commerce, † and the scheme of navigating that river and its tributaries was eagerly adopted by the Indian Government, and by the advocates of material utilitarianism. One object of sending King William's presents for Runjeet Singh by water, was to ascertain, as if undesignedly, the trading value of the classical stream, ‡ and the result of Lieutenant Burnes' observations convinced Lord William Bentinck of its superiority over the Ganges. There seemed also, in his

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courage, but their discipline and equipment. Shah Shooja's expedition, of 1834, nevertheless, served to show the fairness of Runjeet Singh's conclusions.

* Murray's *Runjeet Singh*, p. 167, 168. The whole of the tenth chapter of Capt. Murray's book, which includes the meeting at Rooper, may be regarded as the composition of Mr. Prinsep, the Secretary to Government, with the Governor General.

† Moorcroft, *Travels*, ii. 338.

‡ Government to Colonel Pottingser, Oct. 22nd., 1831, and Murray's *Runjeet Singh*, p. 153.

Lordship's opinion, good reason to believe that the great western valley had at one time been as populous as that of the east, and it was thought that the judicious exercise of the paramount influence of the British Government, might remove those political obstacles which had banished commerce from the rivers of Alexander.* It was therefore resolved, in the current language of the day, to open the Indus to the navigation of the world.

Before the Governor-General met Runjeet Singh, he had directed Colonel Pottinger to proceed to Hydrabad, to negotiate with the Ameers of Sindh the opening of the lower portion of the river to all boats on the payment of a fixed toll;† and, two months afterwards, or towards the end of 1831, he wrote to the Muharaja that the desire he had formerly expressed to see a steam-boat, was a proof of his enlightened understanding, and was likely to be gratified before long, as it was wished to draw closer the commercial relations of the two states. Captain Wade was at the same time sent to explain, in person, the object of Colonel Pottinger's mission to Sindh, to propose the free navigation of the Sutlej in continuation of that of the Lower Indus, and to assure the Muharaja that, by the extension of British commerce, was not meant the extension of the British power.‡ But Runjeet Singh, also, had his views and his suspi-

* Government to Col. Pottinger, 22nd Oct. 1831.

† Murray's *Runjeet Singh*, p. 168

‡ Government to Capt. Wade, 19th Dec., 1831. It is admitted that the mission, or the schemes, had a political reference to Russia and her designs, but the Governor-General would not avow his motives. (Murray's *Runjeet Sigh*, p. 168.)

cions.* In the south of the Punjab he had wrought by indirect means, as long as it was necessary to do so among a newly conquered people. The Nuwab of Buhawulpoor, his manager of the country across to Dera Ghazee Khan, was less regular in his payments than he should have been, and his expulsion from the Punjab Proper would be profitable, and unaccompanied with danger, if the English remained neuter. Again, Buhawul Khan was virtually a chief protected by the British Government on the left bank of the Sutlej, and Lieutenant Burnes was on his way up the Indus. The Muharaja, ever mistrustful, conceived that the political status of that officer's observation, would be referred to and upheld by his Government as the true and permanent one,† and hence the envoy found affairs in process of change when he left the main stream of the Indus, and previous to the interview at Rooper, General Ventura had dispossessed Buhawul Khan both of his Lahore farms, and of his ancestral territories on the right bank of the Sutlej.‡ Further, Shikarpoor formed no part of the Sindh of the Kulhoras or Talpoors; it had only fallen to the latter usurpers after the death of Mahomed Azeem Khan, the vuzeer of the titular king, Shah Ayoob, and it continued to be held jointly by the three families of Kheirpoor, Meerpoor, and Hydrabad, as a

* Runjeet Singh's attention was mainly directed to Sindh, and a rumored matrimonial alliance between one of the Ameers, or the son of one of them, and a Persian princess, caused him some anxeity. (Capt Wade to Government, 5th Aug, 1831.)

† This view appears to have subsequently occurred to Capt. Wade as having influenced the Muharaja. See his letter to Government, 18th Oct., 1836.

‡ Capt. Wade to Government, 5th Nov., 1831.

fortuitous possession. Runjeet Singh considered that he, as the paramount of the Barukzaees of the Indus, had a better right to the district than the Ameers of south-eastern Sindh, and he was bent upon annexing it to his dominions.*

Such was Runjeet Singh's temper of mind when visited by Captain Wade to negotiate the opening of the Sutlej to British traders. The Muharaja avowed himself well pleased, but he had hoped that the English were about to force their way through Sindh ; he asked how many regiments Colonel Pottinger had with him, and he urged his readiness to march and coerce the Ameers.† It was further ascertained that he had made propositions to Meer Alee Moorad, of Meerpoor, to farm Dera Ghazee Khan, as if to sow dissensions among the Talpoors, and to gain friends for Lahore, while Colonel Pottinger was winning allies for the English.‡ But he perceived that the Governor-General had resolved upon his course, and he gave his assent to the common use of the Sutlej and Indus, and to the residence of a British officer at Mithenkot to superintend the navigation.§

* This argument was continually used by Runjeet Singh. See, for instance, Capt. Wade to Government, 15th Jan. 1837.

† Capt. Wade to Government, 1st and 13th Feb., 1832.

‡ Capt. Wade to Government, 21st Dec., 1831 ; and Col. Pottinger to Government, 23rd Sept. 1837.

§ See Appendices, XII. and XIII. A tariff on goods was at first talked of, but subsequently a toll on boats was preferred. From the Himalayas to the sea the whole toll was fixed at 570 rupees, of which the Lahore government got Rs. 155, 4, 0 for territories on the right bank, and Rs. 39, 5, 1 for territories on the left bank of the Sutlej. (Government to Capt. Wade, 9th June, 1834, and Capt. Wade to Government, 13th Dec. 1835)

He did not desire to appear as if in opposition to his allies of many years, but he did not seek to conceal from Captain Wade his opinion that the commercial measures of the English had really abridged his political power, when he gave up for the time the intention of seizing Shikarpoor.*

The connection of the English with the nations of the Indus was about to be rendered more complicated by the revived hopes of Shah Shooja. That ill-fated king had taken up his abode, as before related, at Loodiana, in the year 1821, and he brooded at his leisure over schemes for the reconquest of Khorassan. In 1826 he was in correspondence with Runjeet Singh, who ever regretted that the Shah was not his guest or his prisoner.† In 1827 he made propositions to the British Government, and he was told that he was welcome to recover his kingdom with the aid of Runjeet Singh, or of the Sindhians, but that, if he failed, his present hosts might not again receive him.‡ In 1829 the Shah was induced, by the strange state of affairs in Peshawur consequent on Syed Ahmed's ascendancy, to suggest to Runjeet Singh that, with Sikh aid, he could readily master it, and reign once more an independent sovereign. The Muharaja amused him with vain hopes, but the English repeated their warning, and the ex-king's hopes soon fell.§ In 1831 they again rose, for the Talpoor Ameers disliked the approach of English envoys, and they gave encouragement to the tenders of

* Capt. Wade to Government, 13th Feb. 1832.
† Capt. Wade to the Resident at Delhi, 25th July, 1826.
‡ Resident at Delhi to Capt. Wade, 25th July, 1827.
§ Government to Resident at Delhi, 12th June, 1829.

their titular monarch.* Negotiations were reopened with Runjeet Singh, who was likewise out of humor with the English about Sindh, and he was not unwilling to aid the Shah in the recovery of his rightful throne; but the views of the Sikh reached to the Persian frontier as well as to the shores of the ocean, and he suggested that it would be well if the slaughter of kine were prohibited throughout Afghanistan, and if the gates of Somnath were restored to their original temple. The Shah was not prepared for these concessions, and he evaded them, by reminding the Muharaja that his chosen allies, the English, freely took the lives of cows, and that a prophecy foreboded the downfall of the Sikh empire on the removal of the gates from Ghuznee.†

In 1832 a rumored advance of the Persians against Heerat gave further encouragement to Shah Shooja in his designs.‡ The perplexed Ameers of Sindh offered him assistance if he would relinquish his supremacy,

* Capt. Wade to Government, 9th Sept., 1831.

† Capt. Wade to Government, 21st Nov., 1831.—Considering the ridicule occasioned by the subsequent removal by the English of these traditional gates, it may gratify the approvers and originators of that measure to know that they *were* of some local importance. When the author was at Buhawulpoor, in 1845, a number of Afghan merchants came to ask him whether their restoration could be brought about—for the repute of the fane (a tomb made a temple by superstition), and the income of its peer or saint, had much declined. They would carefully convey them back, they said, and they added that they understood the Hindoos did not want them, and that of course they could be of no value to the Christians!

‡ Government to Capt. Wade, 19th Oct., 1832.

and the Shah promised acquiescence if he succeeded.* To Runjeet Singh the Shah offered to waive his right to Peshawur and other districts beyond the Indus, and also to give an acquittance for the Koh-i-noor diamond, in return for assistance in men and money. The Muharaja was doubtful what to do; he was willing to secure an additional title to Peshawur, but he was apprehensive of the Shah's designs, should the expedition be successful.† He wished, moreover, to know the precise views of the English, and he therefore proposed that they should be parties to any engagement entered into, for he had no confidence, he said, in Afghans.‡ Each of the three parties had distinct and incompatible objects. Runjeet Singh wished to get rid of the English *commercial* objections to disturbing the Ameers of Sindh, by offering to aid the rightful *political* paramount in its recovery. The ex-king thought the Muharaja really wished to get him into his power, and the project of dividing Sindh fell to the ground.§ The Talpoor Ameers, on their part, thought that they would save Shikarpoor by playing into the Shah's hands, and they therefore endeavoured to prevent a coalition between him and the Sikh ruler.||

The Shah could not come to any satisfactory terms with Runjeet Singh, but as his neutrality was essential, especially with regard to Shikarpoor, a treaty of alliance was entered into by which the districts beyond the Indus,

* Capt. Wade to Government, 15th Sept., 1832.

† Capt. Wade to Government, 13th Dec., 1832.

‡ Capt. Wade to Government, 31st Dec., 1832.

§ Capt. Wade to Government, 9th April, 1833.

|| Capt. Wade to Government, 27th March, 1833.

and in the possession of the Sikhs, were formally ceded to the Muharaja.* The English had also become less averse to his attempt, and he was assured that his annual stipend would be continued to his family, and no warning was held out to him against returning, as had before been done.† A third of his yearly allowance was even advanced to him : but the political agent was at the same time desired to impress upon all people, that the British Government had no interest in the Shah's proceedings, that its policy was one of complete neutrality, and it was added that Dost Mahomed could be so assured in reply to a letter received from him.‡ Dost Mahomed had mastered Caubul shortly after Mahomed Azeem Khan's death, and he soon learnt to become apprehensive of the English. In 1832, he cautioned the Ameers of Sindh against allowing them to establish a commercial factory in Shikarpoor, as Shah Shooja would certainly soon follow to guard it with an army§, and he next sought, in the usual way, to ascertain the views of the paramounts of India by entering into a correspondence with them.

* This treaty, which became the foundation of the Tripartite Treaty of 1838, was drawn up in March, 1833, and finally agreed to in August of that year. (Capt. Wade to Government, 17th June, 1834.)

† Government to Capt. Wade, 19th Dec., 1832.

‡ Government to Capt. Faithful, Acting Political Agent, 13th Dec., 1832, and to Capt. Wade, 5th and 9th of March, 1833.

§ The Buhawulpoor Memoirs state that such a recommendation was pressed by Dost Mahomed on the Ameers ; the belief in the gradual conversion of "Kotees," or residencies or commercial houses, into "Chaonees," or military cantonments, having, itmay be inferred, become notorious as far as Caubul. Dost Mahomed s main object, however, was to keep Shah Shooja at a distance ;

Shah Shooja left Loodiana in the middle of February, 1833. He had with him about 200,000 rupees in treasure, and nearly 3000 armed followers.* He got a gun and some camels from Buhawul Khan, he crossed the Indus towards the middle of May, and he entered Shikarpoor without opposition. The Sindhians did not oppose him, but they rendered him no assistance, and they at last thought it better to break with him at once than to put *their* means into *his* hands for their own more assured destruction.† But they were signally defeated near Shikarpoor on the 9th January, 1834, and they willingly paid 500,000 rupees in cash, and gave a promise of tribute for Shikarpoor, to get rid of the victor's presence.‡ The Shah proceeded towards Candahar, and he maintained himself in the neighborhood of that city for a few months; but, on the 1st July, he was brought to action by Dost Mahomed Khan and his brothers, and fairly routed.§ After many wanderings, and an appeal to Persia and to Shah Kamran, of Heerat, and also an attempt upon Shikarpoor,|| he

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and he always seems to have held that he was safe from the English themselves so long as Lahore remained unshaken. For another instance of the extent to which the English were thought to be identified with Shah Shooja, see the *Asiatic Journal*, xix. 38., as quoted by Professor Wilson in Moorcroft's *Travels*, note, p. 340, vol. ii.

* Capt. Wade to Government, 9th April, 1833.

† Capt. Wade to Government, 25th Aug., 1833, and the Memoirs of the Buhawulpoor Family.

‡ Capt. Wade to Government, 30th Jan., 1834.

§ Capt. Wade to Government, 25th July, 1834.

|| Capt. Wade to Government, 21st Oct. and 29th Dec., 1834, and 6th Feb., 1835.

returned to his old asylum at Loodiana in March, 1835, bringing with him about 250,000 rupees in money and valuables.*

Runjeet Singh, on his part, was apprehensive that Shah Shooja might set aside their treaty of alliance, so he resolved to guard against the possible consequences of the ex-king's probable success, and to seize Peshawur before his tributaries could tender their allegiance to Caubul.† A large force, under the nominal command of the Muharaja's grandson, Nao Nihal Singh, but really led by Sirdar Hurree Singh, crossed the Indus, and an increased tribute of horses was demanded on the plea of the prince's presence, for the first time, at the head of an army. The demand would seem to have been complied with, but the citadel of Peshawur was nevertheless assaulted and taken on the 6th May, 1834.‡ The hollow negotiations with Sooltan Mahomed Khan, are understood to have been precipitated by the impetuous Hurree Singh, who openly expressed his contempt for all Afghans, and did not conceal his design to carry the Sikh arms beyond Peshawur.§

The Sikhs were, in the meantime, busy elsewhere as well as in Peshawur itself. In 1832 Hurree Singh had finally routed the Mahometan tribes above Attok, and to better ensure their obedience, he built a fort on the right side of the Indus.|| In 1834 a force was employed

* Capt. Wade to Government, 19th March, 1835.

† Capt. Wade to Government, 17th June, 1834.

‡ Capt. Wade to Government, 19th May, 1834.

§ These views of Hurree Singh's were sufficiently notorious in the Punjab some years ago, when that chief was a person before the public.

|| Capt. Wade to Government, 7th Aug., 1832.

against the Afghans of Tak and Bunnoo, beyond Dera Ismaeel Khan; but a considerable detachment signally failed in an attack upon a mountain stronghold, and a chief of rank and upwards of 300 men were slain. The ill-success vexed the Muharaja, and he desired his agent to explain to the British authorities the several particulars; but lest they should still be disposed to reflect upon the quality of his troops, he reminded Captain Wade that such things had happened before, that his rash officers did not wait until a breach had been effected, and that, indeed, the instance of General Gillespie and the Goorkhas at Kalungga, afforded an exact illustration of what had taken place! * In 1833 the grandson of Sunsar Chund, of Kototch, was induced to return to his country, and on his way through Loodiana he was received with considerable ceremony by the British authorities, for the fame of Sunsar Chund gave to his posterity some semblance of power and regal dignity. A jagheer or fief of 50,000 rupees was conferred upon the young chief, for the Muharaja was not disposed from nature to be wantonly harsh, nor from policy to drive any one to desperation. † During the same year Runjeet Singh proposed to send a chief to Calcutta with presents for the King of England, and not improbably with the view of ascertaining the general opinion about his designs on Sindh. The mission,

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* Capt. Wade to Government, 10th May, 1834. Dera Ismaeel Khan and the country about it was not fairly brought into order until two years afterwards. (Capt. Wade to Government, 7th and 13th July., 1836)

† Capt. Wade to Government, 9th Oct., 1833, and 3d Jan., 1835.

under Goojer Singh Mujeetheea, finally took its departure in September, 1834, and was absent a year and a half.*

When Mr. Moorcroft was in Ludakh (in 1821, &c.), the fear of Runjeet Singh was general in that country, and the Sikh governor of Cashmeer had already demanded the payment of tribute ;† but the weak and distant state was little molested until the new Rajas of Jummoo had obtained the government of the hill principalities between the Ravee and Jehlum, and felt that their influence with Runjeet Singh was secure and commanding. In 1834 Zorawur Singh, Raja Golab Singh's commander in Kishtwar, took advantage of internal disorders in Leh, and declared that an estate, anciently held by the Kishtwar chief, must be restored. He crossed into the southern districts, but did not reach the capital until early in 1835. He sided with one of the contending parties, deposed the reigning Raja, and set up his rebellious minister in his stead. He fixed a tribute of 30,000 rupees, he placed a garrison in the fort, he retained some districts along the northern slopes of the Himalayas, and reached Jummoo with his spoils towards the close of 1835. The dispossessed Raja complained to the Chinese authorities in Lussa ; but, as the tribute continued to be regularly paid by his successor, no notice was taken of the usurpation. The governor of Cashmeer complained that Golab Singh's commercial regulations interfered with the regular supply of shawl-wool, and that matter was at once

* Capt. Wade to Government, 11th Sept., 1834, and 4th April, 1836.

† Moorcroft, *Travels*, i. 420.

adjusted; yet the grasping ambition of the favorites nevertheless caused Runjeet Singh some misgivings amid all their protestations of devotion and loyalty.*

But Runjeet Singh's main apprehensions were on the side of Peshawur, and his fondest hopes in the direction of Sindh. The defeat which the Ameers had sustained diminished their confidence in themselves, and when Shah Shooja returned beaten from Candahar, Noor Mahomed of Hydrabad was understood to be willing to surrender Shikarpoor to the Muharaja, on condition of his guarantee against the attempts of the ex-King.† But this pretext would not get rid of the English objection; and Runjeet Singh, moreover, had little confidence in the Sindhians. He kept, as a check over them, a representative of the expelled Kulhoras, as a pensioner on his bounty, in Rajenpoor beyond the Indus;‡ and, at once to overawe both them and the Barukzaees, he again opened a negotiation with Shah Shooja as soon as he returned to Loodiana.§ But his

* Capt. Wade to Government, 27th Jan., 1835, and Mr. Vigne, *Travels in Cashmeer and Tibet*, ii. 352; their statements being corrected or amplified from the author's manuscript notes. The prince Khurruk Singh became especially apprehensive of the designs of the Jummoo family. (Capt. Wade to Government, 10th Aug., 1836.)

† Capt. Wade to Government, 6th Feb., 1835.

‡ Capt. Wade to Government, 17th June, 1834. Surufraz Khan, otherwise called Gholam Shah, was the Kulhora expelled by the Talpoors. He received Rajenpoor in Jagheer from Caubul, and was maintained in it by Runjeet Singh. The place was held to yield 100,000 rupees, including certain rents reserved by the state, but the district was not really worth 30,000 rupees.

§ Capt. Wade to Government, 17th April, 1835, and other letters

main difficulty was with his British allies; and, to prove to them the reasonableness of his discontent, he would instance the secret aid which the Muzaree freebooters received from the Ameers;* he would again insist that Shikarpoor was a dependency of the chiefs of Khorassan,† and he would hint that the river below Mithenkot was not the Indus but the Sutlej, the river of the treaty,—the stream which had so long given freshness and beauty to the emblematic garden of their friendship, and which continued its fertilizing way to the ocean, separating, yet uniting, the realms of the two brotherly powers of the East! ‡

But the English had formed a treaty of navigation with Sindh, and the designs of Runjeet Singh were displeasing to them. They said they could not view without regret and disapprobation the prosecution of plans of unprovoked hostility against states to which *they* were bound by ties of interest and good will.§ They therefore wished to dissuade Runjeet Singh against any attempt on Shikarpoor; but they felt that this must be done discreetly, for their object was to remain on terms of friendship with every one, and to

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of the same year. The Muharaja still urged that the English should guarantee, as it were, Shah Shooja's moderation in success: partly, perhaps, because the greatness of the elder dynasty of Ahmed Shah still dwelt in the mind of the first paramount of the Sikhs, but partly also with the view of sounding his European allies as to *their* real intentions.

* Capt. Wade to Government, 5th Oct., 1836

† Capt. Wade to Government, 15th Jan., 1837

‡ Capt. Wade to Government, 5th Oct., 1836

§ Government to Capt. Wade, 22d Aug., 1836—This plea will

make their influence available for the preservation of the general peace.* Such were the sentiments of the English; but, in the meantime, the border disputes between the Sikhs and Sindhians were fast tending to produce a rupture. In 1833 the predatory tribe of Muzarees, lying along the right bank of the Indus, below Mithenkot, had been chastised by the Governor of Mooltan, who proposed to put a garrison in their stronghold of Rojhan, but was restrained by the Muharaja from so doing.† In 1835 the Ameers of Kheirpoor were believed to be instigating the Muzarees in their attacks on the Sikh posts; and as the tribe was regarded by the English as dependent on Sindh, although possessed of such a degree of separate existence as to warrant its mention in the commercial arrangements as being entitled to a fixed portion of the whole toll, the Ameers were informed that the English looked to them to restrain the Muzarees, so as to deprive Runjeet Singh of all pretext for interference.‡ The aggressions nevertheless continued, or were alleged to be continued; and in August, 1836, the Mooltan Governor took formal possession of Rojhan.§ In the October following the Muzarees were brought to action, and defeated, and the Sikhs occupied a fort called Ken,

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recall to mind the usual argument of the Romans for interference, viz. that *their* friends were not to be molested by strangers.

* Government to Capt. Wade, 22d Aug., 1836.

† Capt Wade to Government, 27th May, 1835.

‡ Government to Capt. Wade, 27th May, 1835 and 5th Sept., 1836; and Government to Col. Pottinger, 19th Sept., 1836.

§ Capt. Wade to Government, 29th Aug., 1836.

to the south of Rojhan, and beyond the proper limit of that tribe.*

Thus was Runjeet Singh gradually feeling his way by force ; but the English had, in the mean time, resolved to go far beyond him in diplomacy. It had been determined that Captain Burnes should proceed on a commercial mission to the countries bordering on the Indus, with the view of completing the reopening of that river to the traffic of the world.† But the Muharaja, it was said, should understand that their objects were purely mercantile, and that, indeed, his aid was looked for in establishing somewhere a great entrepot of trade, such as, it had once been hoped, might have been commenced at Mithenkot.‡ Yet the views of the British authorities with regard to Sindh were inevitably becoming political as well as commercial. The condition of that country, said the Governor-General, had been much thought about, and the result was a conviction that the connection with it should be drawn closer.§ The Ameers, he continued, might desire the protection of the English against Runjeet Singh, and previous negotiations, which their fears or their hostility had broken off, might be renewed with a view to giving them assistance; and, finally, it was determined that the English Government should mediate between Runjeet Singh and the Sindhians, and afterwards adjust the other external relations of the Ameers when a resident should be stationed at Hydrabad.

* Capt. Wade to Government, 2d Nov., 1836.

† Government to Capt. Wade, 5th Sept., 1836.

‡ Government to Capt. Wade, 5th Sept., 1836.

§ Government to Col. Pottinger, 26th Sept., 1836.

With regard to Runjeet Singh, the English rulers observed that they were bound by the strongest considerations of political interest to prevent the extension of the Sikh power along the course of the Indus, and that, although they would respect the acknowledged territories of the Muharaja, they desired that his existing relations of peace should not be disturbed; for, if war took place, the Indus would never be opened to commerce. The political agent was directed to use every means short of menace to induce Runjeet Singh to abandon his designs against Shikarpoor; and Shah Shooja, whose hopes were still great, and whose negotiations were still talked of, was to be told that if he left Loodiana he must not return, and that the maintenance for his family would be at once discontinued. With regard to the Muzarees, whose lands had been actually occupied by the Sikhs, it was said that their reduction had effected an object of general benefit, and that the question of their permanent control could be determined at a future period.*

The Sindhians, on their part, complained that the fort of Ken had been occupied, and in reply to Runjeet Singh's demand that their annual complimentary or prudential offerings should be increased, or that a large sum should be paid for the restoration of their captured fort, they avowed their determination to resort to arms.† Nor can there be any doubt that Sindh would have been invaded by the Sikhs, had not Colonel Pottinger's negotiations for their protection deterred the Muharaja

* Government to Capt. Wade, 26th Sept., 1836.

† Capt. Wade to Government, 2d Nov. and 13th Dec., 1836.

from an act which he apprehended the English might seize upon to declare *their* alliance at an end. The princes Khurruk Singh and Nao Nihal Singh were each on the Indus, at the head of considerable armies, and the remonstrances of the British political agent alone detained the Muharaja himself at Lahore. Nevertheless, so evenly were peace and war balanced in Runjeet Singh's mind, that Captain Wade thought it advisable to proceed to his capital to explain to him in person the risks he would incur by acting in open opposition to the British Government. He listened, and at last yielded. His deference, he said, to the wishes of his allies took place of every other consideration; he would let his relations with the Ameers of Sindh remain on their old footing, he would destroy the fort of Ken, but he would continue to occupy Rojhan and the Muzaree territory.* Runjeet Singh was urged by his chiefs not to yield to the demands of the English, for to their understanding it was not clear where such demands would stop; but he shook his head, and asked them what had become of the two hundred thousand spears of the Mahrattas !†—and, as if to show how completely he professed to forget or forgive the check imposed on him, he invited the Governor-General to be present at Lahore on the occasion of the marriage of the grandson whom he had hoped to hail as the conqueror of Sindh.‡

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* Capt. Wade to Government, 3d Jan., 1837.

† Compare Capt. Wade to Government, 11th Jan., 1837. Runjeet Singh not unfrequently referred to the overthrow of the Mahratta power as a reason for remaining, under all and any circumstances, on good terms with his European allies.

‡ Capt. Wade to Government, 5th Jan., 1837.

Nevertheless he continued to entertain a hope that his objects might one day be attained; he avoided a distinct settlement of the boundary with the Ameers, and of the question of supremacy over the Muzarees.* Neither was he disposed to relinquish Rojhan; the place remained a Sikh possession, and it may be regarded to have become formally such by the submission of the chief of the tribe in the year 1838.†

It is now necessary to go back for some years to trace the connection of the English Government with the Barukzaee rulers of Afghanistan. Mahomed Azeem Khan died in 1823, as has been mentioned, immediately after Peshawur became tributary to the Sikhs. His son Hubeboolla nominally succeeded to the supremacy which Futteh Khan and Mahomed Azeem had both exercised; but it soon become evident that the mind of the youth was unsettled, and his violent proceedings enabled his crafty and unscrupulous uncle, Dost Mahomed Khan, to seize Caubul, Ghuznee, and Jellalabad as his own, while a second set of his brothers held Candahar in virtual independence, and a third governed Peshawur as the tributaries of Runjeet Singh.‡ In the year 1824, Mr. Moorcroft, the traveller, was upon the whole well-satisfied with the treatment he received from the Barukzaees, although their patronage cost him money.§ A few years afterwards Sooltan Mahomed

* Capt. Wade to Government, 13th and 15th Feb., 8th July, and 10th Aug., 1837

† Capt. Wade to Government, 9th Jan, 1838.

‡ Compare Moorcroft, *Travels*, ii. 345, &c., and Moonshee Mohun Lal, *Life of Dost Mohomed Khan*, i. 130, 153 &c.

§ Moorcroft, *Travels*, ii. 346, 347.

Khan of Peshawur, who had most to fear from strangers, opened a communication with the political agent at Loodiana,* and in 1829 he wished to negotiate as an independent chief with the British Government.† But the several brothers were jealous of one another, many desired separate principalities, Dost Mahomed aimed at supremacy, rumors of Persian designs alarmed them on the west, the aggressive policy of Runjeet Singh gave them greater cause of fear on the east, and the chance presence of English travellers in Afghanistan again led them to hope that the foreign masters of India might be induced to give them stability between contending powers.‡ In 1832 Sooltan Mahomed Khan again attempted to open a negotiation, if only for the release of his son, who was a hostage with Runjeet Singh.§ The Nuwab, Jubbar Khan of Caubul, likewise addressed letters to the British frontier authority, and in 1832 Dost Mahomed himself directly asked for

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* Capt. Wade to the Resident at Delhi, 21st April, 1828.

† Capt. Wade to Government, 19th May, 1832. The brothers had already (1823, 1824) made similar proposals through Mr. Moorcroft. (See *Travels*, ii. 340.)

‡ Mr. Fraser and Mr. Stirling, of the Bengal civil service were in Afganistan, the former in 1826, apparently, and the latter in 1828. Mr. Masson also entered the country by way of the Lower Punjab, in 1827, and the American, Dr. Harlan, followed him in a year by the same route. Dr. Harlan came to Lahore in 1829, after leading the English authorities to believe that he desired to constitute himself an agent between their Government and Shah Shooja, with reference doubtless to the ex-King's designs on Caubul. (Resident at Delhi to Capt. Wade, 3d Feb., 1829.)

§ Capt. Wade to Government, 19th May, and 3d July, 1832.

the friendship of the English.* All these communications were politely acknowledged, but at the time it was held desirable to avoid all intimacy of connection with rulers so remote.†

In 1834 new dangers threatened the usurping Barukzaees. Shah Shooja had defeated the Sindhians and had arrived in force at Candahar, and the brothers once again endeavored to bring themselves within the verge of British supremacy. They had heard of English arts as well as of English arms ; they knew that all were accessible of flattery, and Jubbar Khan suddenly proposed to send his son to Loodiana, in order, he said, that his mind might be improved by European science and civilization.‡ But Jubbar Khan, while he appeared to adhere to Dost Mahomed rather than to others, had nevertheless an ambition of his own, and he was more than suspected of a wish to make his admiration of the amenities of English life the means of acquiring political power.§ Thus, doubtful of all about him, Dost Mahomed left Caubul to oppose Shah Shooja, but the Sikhs had, in the meantime, occupied Peshawur, and the perplexed ruler grasped once more at British aid as his only sure resource.|| He tendered his submission as a dependent of Great Britain, and having thus endeavored to put his dominions in trust, he gave Shah

* Capt. Wade to Government, 9th July, 1832, and 17th Jan., 1833.

† Government to Capt. Wade, 28th Feb., 1833.

‡ Capt. Wade to Government, 9th March, 1834.

§ Capt. Wade to Government, 17th May, 1834. Compare Masson, *Journeys*, iii. 218, 220.

|| Capt. Wade to Government, 17th June, 1834.

Shooja battle. But the Shah was defeated, and the rejoicing victor forgot his difficulties. He declared war against the Sikhs on account of their capture of Peshawur, and he endeavored to make it a religious contest by rousing the population generally to destroy infidel invaders.* He assumed the proud distinction of "Ghazee," or champion of the faith, and the vague title of "Ameer," which he interpreted "the noble," for he did not care to wholly offend his brothers, whose submission he desired, and whose assistance was necessary to him.†

Dost Mahomed Khan, amid all his exultation, was still willing to use the intervention of unbelievers as well as the arms of the faithful, and he asked the English masters of India to help him in recovering Peshawur.‡ The youth who had been sent to Loodiana to become a student, was invested with the powers of a diplomatist, and the Ameer sought to prejudice the British authorities against the Sikhs, by urging that *his* nephew and *their* guest had been treated with suspicion, and had suffered restraint on his way across the Punjab. But the English had not yet thought of requiring him to be an ally for purposes of their own, and Dost Mahomed was simply assured that the son of Nuwab Jubbar Khan should be well taken care of on the eastern side of the Sutlej. A direct reply to his solicitation was avoided, by enlarging on the partial truth that the Afghans were a commercial people

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* Capt. Wade to Government, 25th Sept, 1834.

† Capt. Wade to Government, 27th Jan., 1835.

‡ Capt. Wade to Government, 4th Jan. and 13th Feb., 1835.

equally with the English, and on the favorite scheme of the great traffickers of the world, the opening of the Indus to commerce. It was hoped, it was added, that the new impulse given to trade would better help the two governments to cultivate a profitable friendship, and the wondering Ameer, full of warlike schemes, was naively asked, whether he had any suggestions to offer about a direct route for merchandize between Caubul and the great boundary river of the Afghans!* The English rulers had also to reply to Runjeet Singh, who was naturally suspicious of the increasing intimacy between his allies and his enemies, and who desired that the European lords might appear rather as his than as Dost Mahomed's supporters; but the Governor-General observed that any endeavors to mediate would lead to consequences seriously embarrassing, and that Dost Mahomed would seem to have interpreted general professions of amity into promises of assistance †

The two parties were thus left to their own means. Runjeet Singh began by detaching Sooltan Mahomed Khan from the Ameer, with whom he had sought a refuge on the occupation of Peshawur by the Sikhs; and the ejected tributary listened the more readily to the Muharaja's propositions, as he apprehended that Dost Mahomed would retain Peshawur for himself, should Runjeet Singh be beaten. Dost Mahomed came to the

* Government to Capt. Wade, 19th April, 1834, and 11th Feb., 1835. Abdool Gheias Khan reached Loodiana in June, 1834, and the original intention of sending him to study at Delhi, was abandoned.

† Government to Capt. Wade, 20th April, 1835.

eastern entrance of the Khyber Pass, and Runjeet Singh amused him with proposals until he had concentrated his forces. On the 11th of May, 1835, the Ameer was almost surrounded. He was to have been attacked on the 12th, but he thought it prudent to retreat, which he did with the loss of two guns and some baggage. He had designed to carry off the Sikh envoys, and to profit by their presence as hostages or as prisoners; but his brother, Sooltan Mahomed Khan, to whom the execution of the project had been entrusted, had determined on joining Runjeet Singh, and the rescue of the agents gave him a favorable introduction to the victor. Sooltan Mahomed and his brothers had considerable Jagheers conferred on them in the Peshawur district, but the military control and civil management of the province was vested solely in an officer appointed from Lahore.*

Dost Mahomed suffered much in general estimation by withdrawing from an encounter with the Sikhs. His hopes in the English had not borne fruit, and he was disposed to court Persia;† but the connection was of less political credit and utility than one with the English, and he tried once more to move the Governor

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* Capt. Wade to Government, 25th April, and 1st, 15th, and 19th May, 1835. Compare *Masson, Journeys*, iii. 342, &c.; *Mohun Lal's Life of Dost Mahomed*, i. 172, &c.; and also *Dr. Harlan's India and Afghanistan*, p. 124, 158. Dr. Harlan himself was one of the envoys sent to Dost Mahomed on the occasion.

The Sikhs are commonly said to have had 80,000 men in the Peshawur valley at this time.

† Capt. Wade to Government, 23rd Feb., 1836. Dost Mahomed's overtures to Persia seem to have commenced in Sept., 1835.

General in his favour. The Sikhs, he said, were faithless, and he was wholly devoted to the interests of the British Government.* The Candahar brothers, also, being pressed by Shah Kamran of Heerat, and unable to obtain aid from Dost Mahomed, made propositions to the English authorities; but Kamran's own apprehensions of Persia soon relieved them of their fears, and they did not press their solicitations for European aid.† Runjeet Singh, on his part, disliked an English and Afghan alliance, and sought to draw Dost Mahomed within the vortex of his own influence. He gave the Ameer vague hopes of obtaining Peshawur, and he asked him to send him some horses, which he had learnt was a sure way of leading others to believe they had won his favour. Dost Mahomed was not unwilling to obtain a hold on Peshawur, even as a tributary, but he felt that the presentation of horses would be declared by the Sikh to refer to Caubul and not to that province.‡ The disgrace of his retreat rankled in his mind, and he at last said that a battle must be fought at all risks.§ He was the more inclined to resort to arms, as the Sikhs had sounded his brother, Jubbar Khan and as Sirdar Hurree Singh had occupied the entrance of the Khyber Pass and entrenched a position at Jumrood, as the basis of his scheme for getting through the formidable defile.|| The Caubul troops marched and

* Capt. Wade to Government, 19th July, 1836.
† Capt. Wade to Government, 9th March, 1836.
‡ Capt. Wade to Government, 12th April, 1837.
§ Capt. Wade to Government, 1st May, 1837.
|| Capt. Wade to Government, 13th Jan., 1837.

assembled on the eastern side of Khyber, under the command of Mahomed Akber Khan, the most warlike of the Ameer's sons. An attack was made on the post at Jumrood, on the 30th of April, 1837; but the Afghans could not carry it, although they threw the Sikhs into disorder. Hurree Singh, by feigning a retreat, drew the enemy more fully into the plains; the brave leader was present every where amid his retiring and rallying masses, but he fell mortally wounded, and the opportune arrival of another portion of the Caubul forces converted the confusion of the Sikhs into a total defeat. But two guns only were lost; the Afghans could not master Jumrood or Peshwar itself, and, after plundering the valley for a few days, they retreated rather than risk a second battle with the reinforced army of Lahore.*

The death of Hurree Singh and the defeat of his army caused some anxiety in Lahore; but the Muharaja promptly roused his people to exertion, and all readily responded to his call. It is stated that field guns were dragged from Ramnaggur, on the Chenab, to Peshawur, in six days, a distance, by road, of more

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* Capt. Wade to Government, 13th and 23rd May, and 5th July, 1837. Compare Masson, *Journeys*, iii. 382, 387, and Mohun Lal's *Life of Dost Mahomed*, i. 226 &c.

It seems that the Afghans were at first routed or repulsed with the loss of some guns, but that the opportune arrival of Shum Sooddeen Khan, a relation of the Ameer, with a considerable detachment, turned the battle in their favor. It is nevertheless believed that had not Hurree Singh been killed, the Sikhs would have retrieved the day. The troops in the Peshawur valley had been considerably reduced by the withdrawal of large parties to

than two hundred miles.* Runjeet Singh advanced in person to Rhotas, and the active Dhian Singh hastened to the frontier, and set an example of devotion and labor by working with his own hands on the foundations of a regular fort at Jumrood.† Dost Mahomed was buoyed up by his fruitless victory, and he became more than ever desirous of recovering a province so wholly Afghan; but Runjeet Singh contrived to amuse him, and the Muharaja was found to be again in treaty with the Ameer, and again in treaty with Shah Shooja, and with both at the same time.‡ But the commercial envoy of the English had gradually sailed high up the Indus of their imaginary commerce, and to his government the time seemed to have come when political interference would no longer be embarrassing, but, on the contrary, highly advantageous to schemes of peaceful trade and beneficial intercourse. It was made known that the British rulers would be glad to be the means of negotiating a peace honorable to both parties, yet the scale was turned in favor of the Afghan, by the simultaneous admission that Peshawur was a place to which

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Lahore, to make a display on the occasion of Nao Nihal Singh's marriage, and of the expected visit of the English Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief.

* Lieut.-Col Steinbach (*Punjab*, p. 64, 68) mentions that he had himself marched with his Sikh regiment 300 miles in twelve days, and that the distance had been performed by others in eleven.

† Mr. Clerk's Memorandum of 1842, regarding the Sikh chiefs, drawn up for Lord Ellenborough.

‡ Compare Capt. Wade to Government, 3rd June, 1837, and Government to Capt. Wade, 7th Aug, 1837.

Dost Mahomed could scarcely be expected to resign all claim.* Nevertheless, it was said, the wishes of Runjeet Sing could be ascertained by Captain Wade, and Captain Burnes could similarly inquire about the views of the Ameer. The latter officer was formally invested whith diplomatic powers,† and the idle desings, or restless intrigues, of Persians and Russians, soon caused the disputes of Sikhs and Afghans to merge in the British scheme of reseating Shah Shooja on the throne of Caubul. At the end of a generation the repose of the English master of India was again disturbed by the rumored march of European armies,‡ and their suspicions were further roused by the conduct of the French General, Allard. That officer, after a residence of several years in the Punjab, had been enabled to visit his native country, and he returned by way of Calcutta in the year 1836. While in France he had induced his government to give him a document, accrediting him to Runjeet Sing, in case his life should be endangered, or in case he should be refused permission to quit the Lahore dominions. It was understood by the English that the paper was only to be produced to the *Muharaja* in an extremity of the kind mentioned; but General Allard himself considered that

* Government to Capt. Wade, 31st July, 1837.

† Government to Capt. Wade, 11th Sept., 1837.

‡ The idea of Russian designs on India engaged the attention of the British Viceroy in 1831 (see Murray's *Runjeet Singh*, by Prinsep, p. 168), and it at the same time possessed the inquiring but sanguine mind of Capt. Burnes, who afterwards gave the notion so much notoriety. (See Capt. Wade to Government, 3rd Aug., 1831.)

it was only to be so laid in form before the *English authorities*, in support of a demand for aid when he might chance to be straitened. He at once delivered his credentials to the Sikh ruler; it was rumored that General Allard had become a French Ambassador, and it was some time before the British authorities forgave the fanceid deceit, or the vain effrontery of their guest.*

Runjeet Sing had invited the Governor-General of India, the Governor of Agra (Sir Charles Metcalfe), and the Commander-in-Chief of the British forces to be present at the nuptials of his grandson, which he designed to celebrate with much splendor. The Prince was wedded to a daughter of the Sikh chief, Sham

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* The author gives what the French officers held to be the intended use of the credentials, on the competent authority of General Ventura, with whom he formerly had conversations on the subject. The English view, however, is that which was taken by the British Ambassador in Paris, as well as by the authorities in Calcutta, with whom General Allard was in personal communication. (Government to Capt. Wade, 16th Jan. and 3rd April, 1837)

Of the two views, that of the English is the less honorable, with reference to their duty towards Runjeet Singh, who might have justly resented any attempt on the part of a servant to put himself beyond the power of his master, and any interference in that servant's behalf on the part of the British Government.

In the letter to Runjeet Singh, Louis Philippe is styled, in French, "Empereur" (Capt. Wade to Government, 15th Sept, 1837); a title which, at the time, may have pleased the vanity of the French, although it could not have informed the understandings of the Sikhs, as, agreeably to Persian and Indian practice, King or Queen is always translated "Padshah" equally with Emperor.

Sing Atareewala, in the beginning of March 1837, but of the English authorities Sir Henry Fane alone was able to attend. That able commander was ever a careful observer of military means and of soldierly qualities; he formed an estimate of the force which would be required for the complete subjugation of the Punjab, but at the same time he laid it down as a principle, that the Sutlej and the wastes of Rajputana and Sindh, were the best boundaries which the English could have in the east. * The prospect of a war with the Sikhs was then remote, and hostile desings could not with honor be entertained by a guest. Sir Henry Fane, therefore, entered heartily into the marriage festivities of Lahore, and his active mind was amused with giving shape to a scheme, which the intuitive sagacity of Runjeet Singh had acquiesced in a pleasing to the just pride or useful vanity of English soldiers. The project of establishing an Order of Merit similar to those dying exponents of warlike skill and chivalrous fraternity among European nations, had been for some time entertained, and although such a system of distinction can be adapted to the genius of any people, the object

* These views of Sir Henry Fane's may not be on record, but they were well known to those about his Excellency. His estimate was, as I remember to have heard from Capt. Wade, 67,000 men, and he thought there might be a two years' active warfare.

This visit to Lahore was perhaps mainly useful in enabling Lieut-Col. Garden, the indefatigable Quarter master-General of the Bengal army to compile a detailed map of that part of the country, and which formed the groundwork of all the maps used when hostilities did at last break out with the Sikhs.

of the Muharaja was simply to gratify his English neighbors, and advantage was accordingly taken of Sir Henry Fane's presence to establish the "Order of the auspicious Star of the Punjab" on a purely British model.* This method of pleasing, or occupying the attention of the English authorities, was not unusual with Runjeet Singh, and he was always ready to inquire concerning matters which interested them, or which might be turned to account by himself. He would ask for specimens of, and for information about, the manufacture of Sambhur salt and Malwa opium.† So early as 1812 he had made trial of the sincerity of his new allies, or had shown his admiration of their skill, by asking for five hundred muskets. These were at once furnished to him; but a subsequent request for a supply of fifty thousand such weapons, excited a passing suspicion.‡ He readily entered into a scheme of freighting a number of boats with merchandize for Bombay, and he was praised for the interest he took in commerce, until it was known that he wished the returned cargo to consist of arms for his infantry.§ He would have his artillerymen learn gunnery at Loodiana,|| and he would send shells of zinc to be inspected in the hope that he might receive some hints about the manufacture of iron shrapnells.¶ He would inquire about the details of

* Capt. Wade to Government, 7th April, 1837.

† Capt. Wade to the Resident at Delhi, 2nd Jan., 1831, and to Government, 25th Dec., 1835.

‡ Capt. Wade to Government 22nd July, 1836.

§ Compare Government to Capt. Wade, 11th Sept., 1837.

|| Capt. Wade to Government, 7th Dec., 1831.

¶ When the restoration of Shah Shooja was resolved on, Runjeet Singh sent shells to Loodiana to be looked at and commented

European warfare, and he sought for copies of the pay regulations of the Indian army and of the English practice of courts martial, and bestowed dresses of honour on the translator of these complicated and inapplicable systems;* while, to further satisfy himself, he would ask what punishment had been found an efficient substitute for flogging.† He sent a lad, the relation of one of his chiefs, to learn English at the Loodiana school, in order, he said, that the youth might aid him in his correspondence with the British Government, which Lord William Bentink had wished to carry on the English tongue instead of in Persian;‡ and he sent a number of young men to learn something of medicine at the Loodiana dispensary, which had been set on foot by the political agent—but in order, the Muharaja said, that they might be useful in his battalions.§ In such ways, half serious, half idle, did Runjeet Singh endeavor to

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on, as if, being engaged in one political cause, there should not be any reserve about military secrets!

* Major Hough, who has added to the reputation of the Indian army by his useful publications, put the practice of courts martial into a Sikh dress for Runjeet Singh. (Government to Capt. Wade 21st November, 1834)

† Government to Capt. Wade, 18th May, 1835, intimating that solitary confinement had been found a good substitute.

‡ Capt. Wade to Government, 11th April. 1835. Some of the Princes of India, all of whom are ever prone to suspicion, were not without a belief that, by writing in English, it was designed to keep them in ignorance of the real views and declarations of their paramount.

§ Some of these young men were employed with the force raised at Peshawur, in 1839, to enable Prince Tymoor to march through Khyber.

ingratiate himself with the representatives of a power he could not withstand and never wholly trusted.

Runjeet Singh's rejoicings over the marriage and youthful promise of his grandson were rudely interrupted by the success of the Afghans at Jumrood, and the death of his able leader Hurree Singh, as has been already related. The old man was moved to tears when he heard of the fate of the only genuine Sikh chief of his creation ;* and he had scarcely vindicated his supremacy on the frontier, by filling the valley of Peshawur with troops, when the English interfered to embitter the short remainder of his life, and to set bounds to his ambition on the west, as they had already done on the east and south. The commercial policy of the British people required that peace and industry should at once be introduced among the half-barbarous tribes of Sindh, Khorassan, and the Punjab ; and it was vainly sought to give fixed limits to newly-founded feudal governments, and to impress moderation of desire upon grasping military sovereigns. It was wished that Runjeet Singh should be content with his past achievements ; that the Ameers of Sindh, and the Chiefs of Heerat, Candahar, and Caubul should feel themselves secure in what they held, but incapable of obtaining more ; and that the restless Shah Shooja should quietly abandon all hope of regaining the crown of his daily dreams.† These were the views which

* Capt. Wade to Government, 13th May, 1837, quoting Dr. Wood, a surgeon in the British army, temporarily deputed to attend on Runjeet Singh and who was with his camp at Rhotas on this occasion.

† Compare Government to Capt. Wade, 13th Nov., 1837, and

the English Viceroy required his agents to impress on Talpoors, Barukzaees, and Sikhs; and their impracticability might have quietly and harmlessly become apparent, had not Russia found reason and opportunity to push her intrigues, through Persia and Toorkistan, to the banks of the Indus.* The desire of effecting a reconciliation between Runjeet Singh and Dost Mahomed induced the British Government to offer its mediation; † the predilections of its frank and enterprising envoy led him to seize upon the admission that the Ameer could scarcely be expected to resign all pretensions to Peshawur.‡ The crafty chief made use of

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to Capt. Burnes and capt. Wade, both of the 20th January 1838. With regard to Sindh, also, the views of Runjeet Singh were not held to be pleasing, and the terms of his communication with the Ameers were thought equivocal, or denotative of a reservation, or of the expression of a right he did not possess. (Government to Capt. Wade, 25th Sept., and 13th Nov., 1837)

* Without reference to the settled policy of Russia, or to what she may always have thought of the virtual support which England gives to Persia and Turkey against her power, the presence of inquiring agents in Khorassan and Toorkistan, and the progressive extension of the British Indian dominion, must have put her on the alert, if they did not fill her with reasonable suspicions.

† Government to Capt. Wade, 31st July, 1837.

‡ These predilections of Sir Alex. Burnes, and the hopes founded on them by Dost Mahomed, were sufficiently notorious to those in personal communication with that valuable poineer of the English; and his strong wish to recover Peshawur, at least for Sooltan Mahomed Khan, is distinctly stated in his own words, in Masson's *Journeys* (iii. 423). The idea of taking the district from the Sikhs, either for Dost Mahomed or his brothers, is moreover apparent from Sir Alex. Burnes' published letters, of 5th Oct. 1837, and 26th Jan. and 13th March, 1838 (Parliamentary Papers

this partiality, and of the fact that his friendship was courted, to try and secure himself against the only power he really feared, viz. that of the Sikhs; and he renewed his overtures to Persia and welcomed a Russian emissary, with the view of intimidating the English into the surrender of Peshawur, and into a guarantee against Runjeet Singh. Friendly assurances to the Candahar brothers, and a hint that the Sikhs were at liberty to march on Caubul, would have given Dost Mahomed a proper sense of his insignificance;* but the truth and the importance of his hostile designs were both believed or assumed by the British Government, while the rumors of northern invasion were eagerly received and industriously spread by the vanquished Princes of India, and the whole country vibrated with the hope that the uncongenial domination of the English was about to yield to the ascendancy of another and less dissimilar race.† The recall of Captain

1839), from the Government replies of remark and caution, dated 20th Jan., and especially of 27th April, 1838, and from Mr. Masson's statements (*Journeys*, iii. 423, 448). Mr. Masson himself thought it would be but justice to restore the district to Sooltan Mohamed Khan, while Moonshee Mohun Lal (*Life of Dost Mohomed*, i. 257, &c.) represents the Ameer to have thought that the surrender of Peshawur to his brother, would have been more prejudicial to his interests than its retention by the Sikhs.

* Such were Capt. Wade's views, and they are sketched in his letters of the 15th May, and 28th Oct., 1837, with reference to commercial objects, although the line of policy may not have been steadily adhered to, or fully developed.

† The extent to which this feeling was prevalent is known to those who were observers of Indian affairs at the time, and it is dwelt upon in the Governor-General's minute of the 20th Aug., 1839.

Burnes from Caubul gave spaciousness to the wildest statements; the advantage of striking some great blow became more and more obvious; for the sake of consistency it was necessary to maintain peace on the Indus, and it was wisely resolved to make a triumphant progress through Central Asia, and to leave Shah Shooja as a dependent Prince on his ancestral throne. The conception was bold and perfect; and had it been steadily adhered to, the whole project would have eminently answered the ends intended, and would have been, in every way, worthy of the English name.*

In the beginning of 1838 the Governor-General did not contemplate the restoration of Shah Shooja;† but in four months the scheme was adopted, and in May of that year Sir William Macnaghten was sent to Runjeet Singh to unfold the views of the British Government.‡

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* The Governor-General's minute of 12th May, 1838, and his declaration of the 1st October, of the same year, may be referred to as summing up the views which moved the British Government on the occasion. Both were published by order of Parliament in March, 1839.

† Government to Capt. Wade, 20th January, 1838.

‡ The proximate cause of the resolution to restore Shah Shooja, was, of course, the preference given by Dost Mahomed to a Persian and Russian over a British alliance, and the immediate object of deputing Sir W. Macnaghten to Lahore, was to make Runjeet Singh as much as possible a party to the policy adopted. (See, among other letters, Government to Capt. Wade, 15th May, 1838) The deputation crossed into the Punjab at Rooper on the 20th May. It remained some time at Adeenanuggar, and afterwards went to Lahore. The first interview with Runjeet Singh was on the 31st May, the last on the 13th July. Sir William

The Muharaja grasped at the first idea which presented itself, of making use of the Shah at the head of *his* armies, with the proclaimed support of the paramount power in India; but he disliked the complete view of the scheme, and the active co-operation of his old allies. It chafed him that he was to resign all hope of Shikarpoor, and that he was to be inclosed within the iron arms of the English rule. He suddenly broke up his camp at Adeenuggur, leaving the British envoys to follow at their leisure, or to return, if they pleased, to Simlah; and it was not until he was told the expedition would be undertaken whether he chose to share in it or not, that he assented to a modification of his own treaty with Shah Shooja, and that the triple alliance was formed for the subversion of the power of the Barukzaees.* The English, on their part, insisted on a double

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Macnaghten recrossed the Sutlej at Loodiana on the 15th July and on that and the following day he arranged with Shah Shooja in person the terms of his restoration.

Two months before the deputation waited upon Runjeet Singh. he had visited Jummoo for apparently the first time in his life. and the same may be regarded as the last in which the worn-out Prince tasted of unalloyed happiness. Golab Singh received his sovereign with every demonstration of loyalty, and, bowing to the Muharaja's feet, he laid before him presents worth nearly forty thousand pounds, saying he was the humblest of his slaves, and the most grateful of those on whom he had heaped favors. Runjeet Singh shed tears, but afterwards pertinently observed that, in Jummoo, gold might be seen where formerly there was nought but stones. (Major Mackeson's letter to Capt. Wade, 31st March, 1838).

* That Runjeet Singh was told he would be left out if he did not choose to come in, does not appear on public record. It was, however the only convincing argument used during the long

invasion of Afghanistan: first, because the Ameers of Sindh disliked a proffered treaty of alliance or dependence, and they could conveniently be coerced as tributaries by Shah Shooja on his way to Candahar; and, secondly, because it was not deemed prudent to place the ex-King in the hands of Runjeet Singh, who might be tempted to use him for Sikh rather than for British objects.* It was therefore arranged that the Shah himself should march by way of Shikarpoor and Quetta, while his son moved on Caubul by the road of Peshawur, and at the head of a force provided by the Muharaja of the Punjab. The British force assembled at Feerozpoor towards the close of 1838, and further eclat

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discussions, and I think Major Mackeson was made the bearer of the message to that effect.

* Compare the Governor-General's minute of 12th of May, 1838, and his instructions to Sir William Macnaghten of the 15th of the same month. Runjeet Singh was anxious to get something lasting and tangible as his share of the profit of the expedition, and he wanted Jellalabad, as there seemed to be a difficulty about Shikarpoor. The Muharaja got, indeed, a subsidy of two hundred thousand rupees a year from the Shah for the use of his troops; a concession which did not altogether satisfy the Governor-General (see letter to Sir William Macnaghten, 2nd July, 1838), and the article became, in fact, a dead letter.

The idea of creating a friendly power in Afghanistan, by guiding Runjeet Singh upon Caubul, seems to have been seriously entertained, and it was a scheme which promised many solid advantages. Compare the Governor-General's minute, 12th May, 1838, the author's abstract of which differs somewhat from the copy printed by order of Parliament in 1839, and Mr. Masson (*Journeys*, iii. 487, 488) who refers to a communication for Sir William Macnaghten on the subject. For the treaty about the restoration of Shah Shooja, see Appendix XIV.

was given to the opening of a memorable campaign, by an interchange of hospitalities between the English Viceroy and the Shikh Ruler.* Ostensibly Runjeet Singh had reached the summit of his ambition; he was acknowledged to be an arbiter in the fate of that empire which had tyrannized over his peasant forefathers, and he was treated with he greatest distinction by the foreign paramounts of India: but his health had become seriously impaired; he felt that he was in truth fairly in collision with the English, and he became indifferent about the careful fulfilment of the engagements into which he had entered. Shazada Tymoor marched from Lahore in January, 1839, accompanied by Colonel Wade as the British representative; but it was with difficulty the stipulated auxiliary force was got together at Peshawur, and although a considerable army at last encamped in the valley, the commander, the Muharaja's grandson, thwarted the negotiations of Prince Tymoor and the English agent, endeavoring to gain friends

* At one of the several meetings which took place on this occasion, there was an inierchange of compliments, which may be noticed. Runjeet Singh likened the friendship of the two states to an apple, the red and yellow colors of which were, he said, so blended, that although the semblance was twofold, the reality was one. Lord Auckland replied that the Muharaja's simile was very happy, inasmuch as red and yellow were the national colors of the English and Sikhs respectively; to which Runjeet Singh rejoined in the same strain that the comparison was indeed in every way appropriate, for the friendship of the two powers was, like the apple, fair and delicious. The translations were given in English and Oordoo with elegance and emphasis by Sir William Macnaghten and Fukeer Uzeezooddeen, both of whom were masters, although in different ways, of language, whether written or spoken.

for Lahore rather than for the proclaimed sovereign of the Afghans.* Runjeet Singh's health continued to decline. He heard of the fall of Candahar in April, and the delay at that place may have served to cheer his vexed spirit with the hope that the English would yet be baffled ; but he died on the 27th of June, at the age of fifty-nine, before the capture of Ghuznee and the occupation of Caubul, and the forcing of the Khyber Pass with the aid of his own troops, placed the seal of success on a campaign in which he was an unwilling sharer.

Runjeet Singh found the Punjab a waning confederacy, a prey to the factions of its chiefs, pressed by the Afghans and the Maharattas, and ready to submit to English surpremacy. He consolidated the numerous petty states into a kingdom, he wrested from Caubul the fairest of its provinces, and he gave the potent Euglish no cause for interference. He found the military array of his country a mass of horsemen, brave indeed, but ignorant of war as an art, and he left it mustering fifty thousand disciplined soldiers, fifty thousand well-armed yeomanry and militia, and more than three hundred pieces of cannon for the field. His rule was founded on the feelings of a people, but it inovlved the joint action of the necessary principles of military order and territorial extention ; and when a limit had been set to Sikh dominion, and his own

* See, among other letters, Capt. Wade to Government, 18th Aug., 1839. For some interesting details regarding Cap. Wade's military proceedings, see Lieut. Barr's published *Journal ;* and for the diplomatic history, so to speak, of his mission, see Moonshee Shahamut Alee's *Sikhs and Afghans.*

commanding genius was no more, the vital spirit of his race began to consume itself in domestic contentions.*

When Runjeet Singh was Lord Auckland's host at Lahore and Amritsir, his utterance was difficult, and the power of his body feeble; he gradually lost the use of his speech, and of the faculties of his mind; and, before his death, the Rajas of Jummoo had usurped to themselves the whole of the functions of Government, which the absence of Nao Nihal Singh enabled them to do with little difficulty. The army was assembled; and a litter, said to contain the dying Muharaja, was carried along the extended line. Dhian Singh was

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* In 1831, Capt. Murray estimated the Sikh revenue at little more than 2½ millions sterling, and the army at 82,000 men, including 15,000 were regular infantry and 376 guns. (Murray's *Runjeet Singh*, by Prinsep, p. 185, 186) In the same year Capt. Burnes (*Travel*, i. 289 291), gives the revenue at 2½ millions, and the army at 75,000, including 25,000 regular infantry. Mr Masson (*Journeys*, i. 430) gives the same revenue; but fixes the army at 70,000 men, of whom 20,000 were disciplined. This may be assumed as an estimate of 1838, when Mr. Masson returned from Caubul. In 1845 Lieut.-Col. Steinbach (*Punjab*, p. 58) states the army to have amounted to 110,000 men, of whom 70,000 were regulars. The returns procured for Government in in 1844, and which cannot be far wrong, show that there were upwards of 40,000 regularly drilled infantry, and a force of about 125,000 men in all, maintained with about 375 guns or field carriages. Compare the *Calcutta Review*, iii 176; Dr. Macgregor's *Sikhs*, ii. 86, and Major Smith's *Reigning Family of Lahore*, appendices, p. xxxvii. for estimates, correct in some particulars, and moderate in others.

For a statement of the Lahore revenues, see Appendix XXII; and for a list of the Lahore army, see Appendix XXIII.

assiduous in his mournful attentions; he seemed to take orders as if from his departing sovereign, and from time to time, during the solemn procession, he made known that Runjeet Sing deelared the Prince Khurruk Singh his successor, and himself, Dhian Singh, the vuzeer or minister of the kingdom.* The soldiery acquiesced in silence, and the British Gevernment was perhaps more sincere than the Sikh people in the congratulations offered, agreeable to custom, to the new and unworthy master of the Punjab. †

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* Mr. Clerk's memorandum of 1842 for Lord Ellenborough.

† Many descriptions of Runjeet Singh's person and manners have been wrttten, of which the fullest is perhaps that in Prinsep's edition of Murray's *Life*, p. 178, &c.; while Capt. Osborne's *Court and Camp*, and Col. Lawrence's *Adventurer in the Punjab*. contain many illustrative touches and anecdotes. The only good likeness of the Muharaja which has been published, is that taken by the Hon. Miss Eden; and it, especially in the original drawing, is true and expressive. Runjeet Singh was of small stature. When young he was dexterous in all manly exercises, but in his old age he became weak and inclined to corpulency. He lost an eye when a child by the small-pox, and the most marked characteristic of his mental powers was a broad and massive forehead, which the ordinary portraits do not show.

CHAPTER VIII.

FROM THE DEATH OF MUHARAJA RUNJEET SINGH, TO THE DEATH OF VUZEER JOWAHIR SINGH.

1839—1845.

Khurrak Singh's power usurped by his son Nao Nihal Singh.—Lieut.-Colonel Wade and Mr. Clerk.—Nao Nihal Singh and the Rajas of Jummoo.—The death of Khurruk Singh.—The death of Nao Nihal Singh.—Sher Singh proclaimed Muharaja, but the authority of sovereign assumed by the mother of Nao Nihal Singh.—Sher Singh gains over the troops and succeeds to power.—The army assumes a voice in affairs, and becomes an organized political body.—The English willing to interfere.—The English undervalue the Sikhs.—The Sikhs in Tibet :—opposed by the Chinese, and restrained by the English.—The English in Caubul.—General Pollock's campaign.—The Sindhanwala and Jummoo families.—The death of Sher Singh.—The death of Raja Dhian Singh.—Dhuleep Singh proclaimed Muharaja with Heera Singh as Vuzeer.—Unsuccessful insurrections.—Pundit Julla's proceedings and views.—Heera Singh expelled and slain.—Jowahir Singh nominated Vuzeer.—Golab Singh submits.—Peshawura Singh in rebellion.—Jowahir Singh put to death by the Army.

THE imbecile Khurruk Singh was acknowledged as the master of the Punjab; but Sher Singh, the reputed

son of the deceased King, at once urged his superior claims or merits on the attention of the British Viceroy;* and Nao Nihal Singh, the real offspring of the titular sovereign, hastened from Peshawur to take upon himself the duties of ruler. The Prince, a youth of eighteen, was in his heart opposed to the proclaimed minister and the Rajas of Jummoo; but the ascendancy of one Cheit Singh over the weak mind of the Muharaja, and Khurruk Sing's own desire of resting upon the influence of the British agent, induced the two parties to coalesce, first for the destruction of the minion, and afterwards for the removal of Colonel Wade. That officer had stood high with Runjeet Singh as a liberal construer of Sikh rights, or as one who would carefully show how a collision with the English was to be avoided; he had steadily refused to make Dhian Singh the medium of his communications with the old Muharaja; he had offended the heir-apparent by unceremoniously accusing him of machination with Afghan chiefs; and in the eyes of the Sikhs he was pledged to Khurruk Singh at all hazards, by the prominent part he had taken in the meeting at Rooper before noticed. His presence was thus disliked, and his interference dreaded by men not inclined to wholly yield themselves to English counsels, and yet accustomed to see the

* Government to Mr. Clerk, 12th July, 1839. Mr. Clerk, who was acting for Col. Wade while absent at Peshawur, seems to have detained Sher Singh's messenger, and to have sent his letter to the Governor-General somewhat in that ordinary spirit of Indian correspondence, which "transmits" every thing "for information and for such orders as may seem necessary." Lord Auckland hastily desired Sher Singh to be told Khurruk Singh was his master.

suggestions of the Governor-General regularly carried into effect by the sovereign of Lahore.

The privacy of the Muharaja's household was rudely violated by the Prince and Minister at daybreak on the 8th of October, 1839, and Cheit Singh was awakened from his slumbers to be put to death, within a few paces of his terrified master.* The removal of Colonel Wade was mixed up with the passage of British troops across the Punjab, and had to be effected in another manner.

The Governor-General had designed that the Anglo-Indian army which accompanied Shah Shooja, should return by way of Peshawur, instead of retracing its steps through the Bolan pass; and when his Lordship visited Runjeet Singh at Lahore, the proposition was verbally conceded, although not definitively settled by an interchange of letters.† In September, 1839, Mr. Clerk was sent on a mission of condolence and congratulation to the new Muharaja, and to finally arrange about the return of Lord Keane with the stormers of Ghuznee. The Prince and Minister were each conscious of their mutual enmity, and secret design of grasping supremacy, but they were even more averse to the presence

* Golab Singh was perhaps the most prominent and resolute actor in this tragedy, although his brother and Nao Nihal Singh were both present. Col. Wade was desired to express to the Lahore Court the regret of the British Government that such a scene of violence should have occurred (Government to Col. Wade, 28th Oct. 1839); and similarly Mr. Clerk had been directed to explain to Khurruk Singh the disapprobation with which the English viewed the practice of suttee with reference to what had taken place at his father's funeral. (Government to Mr. Clerk, 20th Aug. 1839)

† Government to Mr. Clerk, 20th Aug. 1839

of a Britisn army in the heart of the Punjab than to one hovering in a distant frontier. It might be used to take part with one or other claimant, or it might be turned against both in favor of the contemned Khurruk Singh: but the passage of the troops could not be wholly refused, and they therefore urged a march by the difficult route of Dera Ismaeel Khan, and they succeeded in fixing upon a line which prudently avoided the capital and also in obtaining a premature assurance that an English force should not again march through Sikh country.* The chiefs were pleased with the new English negotiator, as all have ever been with that prompt and approved functionary. Something is always expected from a change, and when a return mission was deputed to Simlah, it was wishpered that Colonel Wade had made himself personally objectionable to those who exercise sway at Lahore; and the complaint was repeated to Lord Keane, when he quitted his army for a few days to visit the Muharaja.† In the month of November (1839), Colonel Wade was himself at the Sikh metropolis on his way from Caubul, but Khurruk Singh was kept at distance on pretence of devotional observances, lest he should throw himself on the protection of one belived to be ill-dispoed towards those who sought his life, or his virtual relinquishment of power. ‡

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* Mr. Clerk to Government, 14th Sept. 1839. The Governor-General was not satisfied that a kind of pledge had been given that British troops should not again cross the Punjab. (Government to Mr. Clerk, 14th Oct. 1839.)

† See, particularly, Government to Col. Wade, 29th Jan. 1840, and Col. Wade to Government, 1st April, 1840.

‡ Compare Moonshee Shahamut Alee's *Sikhs and Afghans*, p.

A portion of the British army of invasion had eventually to be left in Afghanistan, as it was thought that Shah Shooja could not maintain himself without support. The wants of regular forces are manifold, and a supply of stores and ammunition had to be collected for transmission to Caubul on Colonel Wade's resumption of his duties at Loodiana, towards the end of 1839. It was desired to send a regiment of Sepoys as a guard with the convoy, but the Sikh Minister and heir-apparent urged that such could not be done under the terms of the agreement concluded a few months previously. Their aversion to their old English representative was mixed up with the general objection to making their country a common highway for foreign armies, and they thus ventured to offer obstructions to the speedy equipment of the isolated British forces, mainly with the view of discrediting Colonel Wade. The Governor-General was justly impressed with the necessity of keeping open the straight road to Caubul, and he yielded to the wishes of the Lahore factions and removed his agent, but not before Dhian Singh and the Prince had despaired of effecting their object, and had allowed the convoy, bristling with bayonets, to proceed on its way.* In the

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543, &c., and some remarks in a note, p. 545., about the English policy generally towards Khurruk Singh, which note may safely be held to be Col. Wade's own. Doubtless had Col. Wade continued to enjoy the complete confidence or support of the Governor-General, the subsequent history of the Punjab would have been different from, if not better than that which all have witnessed. So much may the British representative effect at an Indian court, without directly interfering, provided he is at once firm, judicious, and well-informed.

* The Governor-General was about to proceed to Calcutta,

beginning of April, 1840, Mr. Clerk succeeded to the charge of the British relations with the Punjab; and independent of his general qualifications, he was the person best suited to the requirements of the time; for the very reason which rendered the agency of Colonel Wade invaluable when it was desired to preserve Sindh and to invade Afghanistan, now rendered that of Mr. Clerk equally beneficial to the indeterminate policy of the English in India. Both officers had the confidence of the *de facto* Sikh rulers of the time, and all their recommendations were held to be given in a spirit of good will towards the Government of the Punjab, as well as in obedience to the dictates of British interests.

The Sikh Prince and the English Viceroy had thus each accomplished the objects of the moment. On the one hand, the Muharaja was overawed by the vigor and success of his aspiring son, and, on the other, the Punjab was freely opened to the passage of British troops, in support of a policy which connected the west of Europe with the south of Asia by an unbroken chain of alliances. The attention of each party was next turned to other matters of near concern, and the English recurred to their favorite scheme of navigating the Indus, and forming an *entrepôt* on that river, which should at once become the centre of a vast traffic.* The treaty of 1834 had placed a toll on boats

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which made him the more desirous of having an agent on the frontier, at once approved of by himself and agreeable to the Sikhs, *i. e.* to the influential parties for the time being at Lahore. (Government to Col. Wade, 29th Jan. 1840)

* Government to Mr. Clerk, 4th May, 1840. The establishment of a great *entrepôt* of trade was a main feature of the

which used the channels of the Indus and Sutlej, and in 1839 the Sikhs deferred to the changing views of their allies, and put the duty on the goods themselves, according to an assumed *ad valorem* scale, instead of on the containing vessels.* This scheme inevitably gave rise to a system of search and detention, and in June, 1840, the tolls upon the *boats* were again re-imposed, but at reduced rates, and with the omission of such as contained grain, wood, and limestone.† But in spite of every government endeavor, and of the adventitious aid of large consuming armies, the expectation of creating an active and valuable commerce by the Indus has not yet been fulfilled ; partly because Sindh and Afghanistan are, in truth, unproductive countries on the whole, and are inhabited by half savage races, with few wants and scanty means ; and partly because a large capital has for ages been embarked in the land trade which connects the north of India with the south, which traverses the old principalities of Rajpootana and the fertile plains of Malwa, and which gives a livelihood to the owners of numerous herds of camels and black cattle. To change

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scheme for opening the navigation of the Indus. (Government to Capt. Wade, 5th Sept. 1836)

* Mr. Clerk to Government, 19th May and 18th Sept. 1839, and Government to Mr. Clerk, 20th Aug. 1839. For the agreement itself, see Appendix XV.

† Mr. Clerk to Government, 5th May, and 15th July, 1840. For the agreement itself, see Appendix XVI. Subsequently, idle discussions occasionally arose with local authorities, as to whether bamboos were wood, and whether rice was comprehended under the technical term "grain," which it is not in India. Similarly the limited meaning of "corn" in England has perhaps, given rise to the modern phrase "bread-stuffs."

the established economy of prudent merchants must be the work of time in a country long subject to political commotion, and the idea of forming an emporium by proclamation savours more of Eastern vanity than of English sense and soberness.*

Nao Nihal Singh's great aim was to destroy, or to reduce to insignificance, the potent Raja of Jummoo who wished to engross the whole power of the state, and who jointly held Ludakh and the hill principalities between the Ravee and Jehlum in fief, besides numerous estates in various parts of the Punjab. He took advantage of the repeated dilatoriness of the Mundee and other Rajpoot chiefs around Kanggra in paying their stipulated tribute, to move a large force into the eastern hills, and the resistance his troops experienced amid mountain fastnesses seemed fully to justify the continuous dispatch of reinforcement. His design was, to place a considerable army immediately to the north-east of Jummoo, to be ready to co-operate with the troops which could reach that place in a few marches from Lahore. The commanders chosen were the skilful General Ventura and the ardent young chief Ajeet Singh Sindhanwala, neither of whom bore good will towards Raja Dhian Singh.† The plans of the youthful

* Nevertheless the experiment was repeated in 1846, on the annexation of the Jalundhur Dooab, when it was hoped, but equally in vain, that Hosheearpoor might suddenly become a centre of exchange. Every part of India bears various marks of the unrealized hopes of sanguine individuals with reference to the expected benefits of English sway, which diffuses indeed some moral as well as material blessings, but which must effect its work by slow and laborious means.

† Compare Mr. Clerk to Government, 6th Sept. 1840.

Prince thus seemed in every way well devised for placing the Rajas in his grasp, but his attention was distracted by disputes with the English authorities about the limits of the expanding dominion of Lahore and of the restored empire of Caubul, and by a direct accusation not only of encouraging turbulent refugees from Shah Shooja's power, but of giving friendly assurances to Dost Mohamed Khan, who was then preparing for that inroad which fluttered the English authorities in Khorassan, and yet paved the way for the surrender of their dreaded enemy. Shah Shooja claimed all places not specified in the treaty, or not directly held by Lahore; nor can it be denied that the English functionaries about the Shah were disposed to consider old Doorannee claims as more valid than the new rights of Sikh conquerors; and thus the *Province* of Peshawur, which the Punjab government further maintained to have been ceded in form by the Shah separately in 1834, as well as by the treaty of 1838, was proposed to be reduced to strips of land along the banks of its dividing river.* Intercepted papers were produced, bearing the seals of Nao Nihal Singh, and promising pecuniary aid to Dost Mahomed; but the charge of treachery was calmly repelled, the seals were alleged to be forgeries and the British Agent for the Punjab admitted that it was not the character of the free and confident Sikhs to resort to secret and traitorous correspondence.† The Barukzaee chief, Sooltan

* See particularly Sir Wm. Macnaghten to Government, 28th Feb. and 12th March, 1840.

† Government to Mr. Clerk, 1st Oct. 1840, and Mr. Clerk to

Mahomed Khan, was, however, made to lead as prisoners to Loodiana the Ghiljaee rebels who had sought an asylum in his fief of Kohat, near Peshawur, and whose near presence disturbed the antagonistic rule of the arbitrary Shah and his moderate English allies.*

Nao Nihal Singh thus seemed to have overcome the danger which threatended him on the side of England, and to be on the eve of reducing the overgrown power of his grandfather's favorites. At the same time the end of the Muharaja's life was evidently approaching; and althongh his decline was credibly declared to have been hastened by drugs as well as by unfilial harshness, there was none who cared for a ruler so feeble and unworthy. Khurruk Singh at last died on the 5th November, 1840, prematurely old and care-worn, at the age of thirty-eight, and Nao Nihal Singh became a King in name as well as in power; but the same day dazzled him with a crown and deprived him of life. He had performed the last rites at the funeral pyre of his father, and he was passing under a covered gateway with the eldest son of Golab Singh by his side, when a portion of the structure fell, and killed the minister's nephew on the spot, and so seriously injured the Prince, that he became senseless at the time, and expired during the night It is not positively known that the Rajas of Jummoo thus

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Government, 9th Dec. 1840. Compare, however, Col. Steinbach (*Punjab*, p. 23), who states that the Prince was rousing Nepal as well as Caubul to aid him in expelling the English; forgetful that Nao Nihal Singh's first object was to make himself master of the Punjab by destroying the Jumoo Rajas.

* Government to Mr. Clerk, 12th Oct., and Mr. Clerk to Government, 14 May, 10th Sept., and 24th Oct., 1840.

designed to remove Nao Nihal Singh; but it is difficult to acquit them of the crime, and it is certain that they were capable of committing it. Self-defence is the only palliation, for it is equally certain that the Prince was compassing their degradation, and, perhaps, their destruction.* Nao Nihal Singh was killed in his twentieth year; he promised to be an able and vigorous ruler; and had his life been spared, and had not English policy partly forestalled him, he would have found an ample field for his ambition in Sindh, in Afghanistan, and beyond the Hindoo Koosh; and he might perhaps, at last, have boasted that the inroads of Mehmood and of Tymoor had been fully avenged by the aroused peasants of India.

The good-natured voluptuary, Sher Singh, wes regarded by the Sikh Minister and by the British Agent as the only person who could succeed to the sovereignty of the Punjab; and as he was absent from Lahore when the Muharaja died and his son was killed, Dhian Singh concealed the latter circumstance as long as possible, to give Sher Singh time to collect his immediate friends; and the English representative urged him by message to maintain good order along the frontier, as men's

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* Compare Mr. Clerk to Government, 6th, 7th, and 10th Nov. 1840, who further, in his memorandum of 1842, drawn up for Lord Ellenborough, mentions Gen. Ventura's opinion that the fall of the gateway was accidental. Lieut.-Col. Steinbach, *Punjab* (p. 24), and Major Smyth, *Reigning Family of Lahore* (p. 35, &c.), may be quoted as giving some particulars, the latter on the authority of an eye-witness, a European adverturer, known as Capt. Gardner, who was present a part of the time, and whose testimony is unfavorable to Raja Dhian Singh.

minds were likely to be excited by what had taken place.* But Sher Sing's paternity was more than doubtful; he possessed no commanding and few popular qualities; the Rajas of Jummoo were odious to the majority of the Sikh chiefs; and thus Chund Kour, the widow of Khurruk Singh, and the mother of the slain Prince, assumed to herself the functions of regent or ruler, somewhat unexpectedly indeed, but till unopposed at the moment by those whom she had surprised. She was supported by several men of reputation, but mainly by the Sindhanwala family, which traced to a near and common ancestor with Runjeet Singh. The lady herself talked of adding to the claims of the youthful Heera Singh, by adopting him, as he had really, if not formally, been adopted by the old Muharaja. She further distracted the factions by declaring that her daughter-in-law was pregnant; and one party tried to gain her over by suggesting a marriage with Sher Singh, an alliance which she spurned, and the other more reasonably proposed Uttur Singh Sindhanwala as a suitable partner, for she might have taken an honored station in household agreeably to the latitude of village custom in the north-west of India. But the widow of the Muharaja loudly asserted her own right to supreme power, and after a few weeks the government was stated to be composed, 1st of the "Maee," or "Mother," pre-eminently as sovereign, or as regent for the expected offspring of Nao Nihal Singh; 2d, of Sher Singh as vicegerent, or as president of the council of state;

* Compare Mr. Clerk to Government, 7th Nov. 1840, and also Mr. Clerk's Memorandam of 1842.

and 3d, of Dhain Singh as vuzeer, or executive minister. The compromise was a mere temporary expedient and Dhain Singh and Sher Singh soon afterwards began to absent themselves for varying periods from Lahore: the one partly in the hope that the mass of business which had arisen with the English, and with which he was familiar, would show to all that his aid was essential to the government; and the other, or indeed both of them, to silently take measures for gaining over the army with promises of donatives and increased pay, so that force might be resorted to as a fitting time. But the scorn with which Sher Shingh's hereditary claim was treated made the minister doubtful whether a more suitable instrument might not be necessary, and the English authorities were accordingly reminded of what perhaps they have never known, viz. that Ranee Jindan, a favourite wife or concubine of Runjeet Singh, had borne to him a son named Dhuleep, a few months before the conferences took place about reseating Shah Shooja on the throne of Caubul.*

The British Viceroy did not acknowledge Maee Chund Kour as the undoubted successor of her husband and son, or as the sovereign of the country; but he treated her government as one *de facto*, so far as to carry on bussiness as usual through the accredited Agents of either power. The Governor-General's anxiety for preservation of order in the Punjab was nevertheless

* Compare Mr. Clerk to Government, of dates between the 10th Nov. 1840, and 2d Jan. 1841, inclusive, particularly of the 11th and 24th Nov. and 11th Dec., besides those specified. It seems almost certain that the existence of the boy Dhuleep was not before known to the British authorities.

considerable; and it was increased by the state of affairs in Afghanistan, for the attempts of Dost Mahomed and the resolution of meeting him with English means alone, rendered the despatch of additional troops necessary, and before Khurruk Singh's death three thousand men had reached Feerozpoor on their way to Caubul.* The progress of this strong brigade was not delayed by the contentions at Lahore; it pursued its march without interruption, and on its arrival at Peshawur it found Dost Mahomed a prisoner instead of a victor. The ex-Ameer journeyed through the Punjab escorted by a relieved brigade; and although Sher Singh was then laying siege to the citadel of Lahore, the original prudence of fixing a route for British troops clear of the Sikh capital, and the complete subjugation of the Mahometan tribes, left the English commander unaware of the struggle going on, except from ordinary reports and news-writers.†

The English Government made indeed no declaration with regard to the Lahore succession; but it was believed by all that Sher Singh was looked upon as the proper representative of the kingdom, and the advisers of Maee Chund Kour soon found that they could not withstand the specious claims of the Prince, and the commanding influence of the British name, without throwing themselves wholly of the support of Raja

* Government to Mr. Clerk, 1st and 2d Nov. 1840, and other letters to and from that functionary.

† The returning brigade was commanded by the veteran Col. Wheeler, whose name is familiar to the public in connection both with Afghan and Sikh wars.

Dhian Singh. That chief was at one time not unwilling to be the sole minister of the Muharanee, and the more sagacious Golab Singh saw advantages to his family amid the complex modes necessary in a female rule, which might not attend the direct sway of a Prince of average understanding, inclined to favoritism, and pledged to Sikh principles. But the Maee's councillors would not consent to be thrown wholly into the shade, and Dhian Singh thus kept aloof, and secretly assured Sher Singh of his support at a fitting time. The Prince, on his part, endeavored to sound the English Agent as to his eventual recognition, and he was satisfied with the reply, although he merely received an assurance that the allies of thirty-two years wished to see a strong government in the Punjab.*

Sher Singh had, with the Minister's aid, gained over some divisions of the army, and he believed that all would declare for him if he boldly put himself at their head. The eagerness of the Prince, or of his immediate followers, somewhat precipitated measures; and when he suddenly appeared at Lahore on the 14th January, 1841, he found that Dhian Singh had not arrived from Jummoo, and that Golab Singh would rather fight for the Muharanee, the acknowledged head of the state, than tamely become a party on compulsion to his ill-arranged schemes. But Sher Singh was no longer his own master, and the impetuous soldiery at once proceeded to breach the citadel. Golab Singh in vain urged some delay, or a suspension of hostilities; but on the 18th

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* See Mr. Clerk's letters to Government of Dec. 1840 and Jan. 1841, generally, particularly that of the 9th Jan.

January, Dhian Singh and most of the principal chiefs had arrived and ranged themselves on one side or the other. A compromise took place; the Maee was outwardly treated with every honour, and large estates were conferred upon her; but Sher Singh was proclaimed Muharaja of the Punjab, Dhian Singh was declared once more to be vuzeer of the state, and the pay of the soldiery was permanently raised by one rupee per mensem. The Sindhanwalas felt that they must be obnoxious to the new ruler; and Uttur Singh and Ajeet Singh took early measures to effect their escape from the capital, and eventually into the British territories; but Lehna Singh, the other principal member, remained with the division of the army which he commanded in the hills of Kooloo and Mundee.*

Sher Singh had induced the troops of the state to make him a King, but he was unable to command them as soldiers, or to sway them as men, and they took advantage of his incapacity and of their own strength to wreak their vengeance upon various officers who had offended them, and upon various regimental accountants and muster-masters who may have defrauded them of their pay. Some houses were plundered and several individuals were seized and slain. A few Europeans had likewise rendered themselves obnoxious; and General Court, a moderate and high-minded man, had to fly for his life, and a brave young Englishman named Foulkes was cruelly put to death. Nor was this spirit of violence confined to the troops at the capital, or to those in the eastern hills, but it spread to Cashmeer

* See Mr. Clerk's letters, of dates from 17th to 30th Jan. 1841.

and Peshawur ; and in the former place, Meehan Singh the Governor was killed by the soldiery ; and in the latter, General Avitebile was so hard pressed, that he was ready to abandon his post and to seek safety in Jellalabad.* It was believed at the time, that the army would not rest satisfied with avenging what it considered its own injuries ; it was thought it might proceed to a general plunder or confiscation of property ; the population of either side of the Sutlej was prepared for an extensive commotion, and the wealthy merchants of Amritsir prophesied the pillage of their warehouses, and were clamorous for British protection. Sher Singh shrunk within himself appalled, and he seemed timorously to resort to the English Agent for support against the fierce spirit he had roused and could not control ; or he doubtfully endeavoured to learn whether such disorders would be held equally to end his reign and the British alliance. The English watched the confusion with much interest and some anxiety, and when cities seemed about to be plundered, and provinces ravaged, the question of the duty of a civilized and powerful neighbour naturally suggested itself, and was answered by a cry for interference : but the shapes which the wish took were various and contradictory. Nevertheless, the natural desire for aggrandizement, added to the apparently disorganized state of the army, contributed to strengthen a willing belief in the inferiority of the Sikhs as soldiers, and in the great excellence of the mountain levies of the chiefs of Jummoo, who alone

* Compare Mr. Clerk to Government, 26th Jan., 8th and 14th Feb. 28th April, and 30th May, 1841.

seemed to remain the masters of their own servants. To the apprehension of the English authorities, the Sikhs were mere upstart peasants of doubtful courage, except when maddened by religious persecution; but the ancient name of Rajpoot was sufficient to invest the motley followers of a few valiant chiefs with every war-like quality. This erroneous estimate of the Sikhs tainted British counsels until the day of Pheeroo-shuhur.*

The English seemed thus called upon to do something, and their Agent in Caubul, who was committed to make Shah Sooja a monarch in means as well as in rank, grasped at the death of Runjeet Singh's last representative; he pronounced the treaties with Lahore to be at an end, and he wanted to annex Peshawur to the Afghan sway. The British Government in Calcutta rebuked this hasty conclusion, but cheered itself with the prospect of eventually adding the Derajat of the Indus, as well as Peshawur, to the unproductive Dooranee kingdom, without any breach of faith towards

* This erroneous estimate of the troops of the Jummoo Rajas and other hill chiefs of the Punjab relatively to the Sikhs, may be seen insisted on in Mr. Clerk's letters to Government of the 2d Jan. and 13th April, 1841, and especially in those of the 8th and 10th Dec. of that year, and of the 15th Jan., 10th Feb., and 23d April, 1842. Mr. Clerk's expressions are very decided, such as that the Sikhs feared the hill-men, who were braver, and that Rajpoots might hold Afghans in check which Sikhs could not do; but he seems to have forgotten that the ancient Rajpoots had, during the century gone by, yielded on either side to the new and aspiring Goorkhas and Mahrattas, and even that the Sikhs themselves had laid the twice-born Princes of the Himalayas under contribution from the Ganges to Cashmeer.

the Sikhs; for it was considered that their dominions might soon be rent in two by the Sindhanwala Sirders and the Jummoo Rajas.* The British Agent on the Sutlej did not think the Lahore empire so near its dissolution in that mode, and confident in his own dexterity, in the superiority of his troops, and in the greatness of the English name, he proposed to march to the Sikh capital with 12,000 men, to beat and disperse a rebel army four times more numerous, to restore order, to strengthen the sovereignty of Sher Singh, and take the cis-Sutlej districts and forty lakhs of rupees in coin as the price of his aid.† This promptitude made the Muharaja think himself in danger of his life at the hands of his subjects, and of his kingdom at the hands of his allies;‡ nor was the Governor-General prepared for a virtual invasion, although he was ready to use force if a large majority of the Sikhs as well as the Muharaja himself desired such intervention.§ After

* See especially Government to Sir Wm. Macnaghten, of 28th Dec. 1850, in reply to his proposals of the 26th Nov. The Governor-General justly observed that the treaty was not formed with an individual chief, but with the Sikh state, so long as it might last and fulfil the obligations of its alliance.

† Mr. Clerk to Government, of the 26th March, 1841.

‡ When Sher Singh became aware of Mr. Clerk's propositions, he is said simply to have drawn his finger across his throat, meaning that the Sikhs would at once take his life if he assented to such measures. The readiness of the English to co-operate was first propounded to Fukeer Uzeez-ooddeen, and that wary negotiator said the matter could not be trusted to paper, he would himself go and tell Sher Singh of it. He went, but he did not return, his object being to keep clear of schemes so hazardous.

§ Government to Mr. Clerk, 18th Feb. and 29th March, 1841.

this, the disorders in the army near Lahore gradually subsided; but the opinion got abroad that overtures had been made to the eager English; and so far were the Sikh soldiery from desiring foreign assistance, that Lehna Singh Sindhanwala was imprisoned by his own men in the Mundee hills, on a charge of conspiracy with his refugee brother to introduce the supremacy of strangers.*

The suspicions and hatred of the Sikhs were further roused by the proceedings of an officer, afterwards nominated to represent British friendship and moderation. Major Broadfoot had been appointed to recruit a corps of Sappers and Miners for the service of Shah Shooja, and as the family of that sovereign, and also the blind Shah Zuman with his wives and children, were about to proceed to Caubul, he was charged with the care of the large and motely convoy. He entered the Punjab in April, 1841 when the mutinous spririt of the Sikh army was spreading from the capital to the provinces. A body of mixed or Mahometan troops had been directed by the Lahore Government to accompany the royal families as an escort of protection, but Major Broadfoot became suspicious of the good faith of this detachment, and on the banks of the Ravee he prepared to resist, with his newly recruited regiment, an attack on the part of those who had been sent to conduct him in safety. On his way to the Indus he was even more suspicious of other bodies of troops

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The Governor-General truly remarked that Mr. Clerk, rather than the Muharaja, had proposed an armed interference.

* Mr. Clerk to Government, 25th March, 1841.

which he met or passed ; he believed them to be intent on plundering his camp, and he considered that he only avoided collisions by dexterous negotiations and by timely demonstrations of force. On crossing the river at Attok, his persuasion of the hostile designs of the battalions in that neighborhood and towards Peshawur was so strong, that he put his camp in a complete state of defence, broke up the bridge of boats, and called upon the Afghan population to rise and aid him against the troops of their Government. But it does not appear that his apprehensions had even a plausible foundation, until at this time he seized certain deputies from a mutinous regiment when on their way back from a conference with their commander, and who appear to have come within the limits of the British pickets. This proceeding alarmed both General Avitabile the Governor of Peshawur, and the British Agent at that place ; and a brigade, already warned, was hurried from Jellalabad to overawe the Sikh forces encamped near the Indus. But the Shah's families and their numerous followers had passed on unmolested before the auxiliary troops had cleared the Khyber Pass, and the whole proceeding merely served to irritate and excite the distrust of the Sikhs generally, and to give Sher Singh an opportunity of pointing out to his tumultuous soldiers that the Punjab was surrounded by English armies, both ready and willing to make war upon them.*

Before the middle of 1841 the more violent proceedings of the Lahore troops had ceased, but the

* Compare Mr. Clerk to Government, 25th May and 10th June, 1841.

relation of the army to the state had become wholly altered; it was no longer the willing instrument of an arbitrary and genial government, but it looked upon itself, and was regarded by others, as the representative body of the Sikh people, as the "Khalsa" itself assembled by tribes or centuries to take its part in public affairs. The efficiency of the army as a disciplined force was not much impaired, for a higher feeling possessed the men, and increased alacrity and resolution supplied the place of exact training. They were sensible of the advantage of systematic union, and they were proud of their armed array as the visible body of Govind's commonwealth. As a general rule, the troops were obedient to their appointed officers, so far as concerned their ordinary military duties, but the position of a regiment, of a brigade, of a division, or of the whole army, relatively to the executive government of the country, was determined by a committee or assemblage of committees termed a "Punch" or "Punchayet" *e.i.* a jury or committee of five, composed of men selected from each battalion, or each company, in consideration of their general character as faithfull *Sikh* soldiers, or from their particular influence in their native villages. The system of Punchayets is common throughout India, and every tribe, or section of a tribe, or trade, or calling, readily submits to the decisions of its elders or superiors seated together in consultation. In the Punjab the custom received a further development from the organization necessary to an army; and even in the crude form of representation thus achieved, the Sikh people were enabled to interfere with effect, and with some degree of consistency, in the nomination and in

the removal of their rulers. But these large assemblies sometimes added military licence to popular tumult, and the corrupt spirit of mercenaries to the barbarous ignorance of ploughmen. Their resolutions were often unstable or unwise, and the representatives of different division might take opposite sides from sober conviction or self-willed prejudice, or they might be bribed and cajoled by such able and unscrupulous men as Raja Golab Singh. *

The partial repose in the autumn of 1841 was taken advantage of to recur to those mercantile objects, of which the British Government never lost sight. The facilities of navigating the Indus and Sutlej had been increased, and it was now sought to extend corresponding advantages to the land trade of the Punjab. Twenty years before, Mr. Moorcroft had, of his own instance, made proposals to Runjeet Singh for the admission of British goods into the Lahore dominion at fixed rates of duty. † In 1832, Colonel Wade again brought forward the subject of a general tariff for the Punjab, and the Muharaja appeared to be not indisposed to meet the views of his allies ; but he really disliked to make arrangement of which he did not fully see the scope and tendency, and he thus tried to evade even a settlement of the river tolls, by saying that the prosperity of Amritsir would be affected, and by recurring to that ever ready objection, the slaughter of kine.

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* See Mr. Clerk's letter of the 14th March, 1841, for Fukeer Uzeezooddeen's admission, that even then the army was united and ruled by its punchayets.

† Moorcroft, *Travels*, i. 103.

Cows, he said, might be used as food by those who traversed the Punjab under a British guarantee.* In 1840, when Afghanistan was garrisoned by Indian troops, the Governor-General pressed the subject a second time on the notice of the Lahore authorities; and after a delay of more than a year, Sher Singh assented to a reduced scale and to a fixed rate of duty, and also to levy the whole sum at one place; but the charges still appeared excessive, and the British Viceroy lamented the ignorance displayed by the Sikh Muharaja, and the disregard which he evinced for the true interests of his subjects.†

The Lahore Government was convulsed at its centre, but its spirit of progress and aggrandizement was active on the frontiers, where not hemmed in by British armies. The deputies in Cashmeer had always been jealous of the usurpations of Golab Singh in Tibet, but Meehan Singh, a rude soldier, the Governor of the valley during the commotions at Lahore, was alarmed into concessions by the powerful and ambitious Rajas of Jummoo, and he left Iskardo, and the whole valley of the Upper Indus, a free field for the aggressions of their lieutenants. Ahmed Shah, the reigning chief of Baltee had

* Compare Col Wade to Government, 7th Nov. and 5th Dec. 1832. These objections are often urged in India, not because they are felt to be reasonable in themselvs, or applicable to the point at issue, but because religion is always a strong ground to stand on, and because it is the only thing which the English do not virtually profess a desire to change. Religion is thus brought in upon all occasions of apprehension or disinclinations.

† Government to Mr. Clerk, 4th May, 1840, and 11th Oct. 1841, and Mr. Clerk to Government of 20th Sept. 1841.

differences with his family, and he proposed to pass over his eldest son in favor of a younger one, in fixing the succession. The natural heir would seem to have endeavored to interest the Governor of Cashmeer, and also Zorawur Singh, the Jummoo deputy in Ludakh, in his favor; and in 1840 he fled from his father and sought refuge and assistance in Leh. Gnodoop Tunzin, the puppet King of Ludakh, had conceived the idea of throwing off the Jummoo authority; he had been endeavoring to engage Ahmed Shah in the design; the absence of Zorwur Singh was opportune, and he allowed a party of Iskardo troops to march on Leh, and to carry off the son of their Chief. Zorawur Singh made this inroad a pretext for war; and before the middle of the year 1840 he was master of Little Tibet, but he left the chiefship in the family of Ahmed Shah, on the payment of a petty yearly tribute of seven thousand rupees, so barren are the rocky principalities between Imaus and Emodus.* Zorawur Singh was emboldened by his own success and by the dissensions at Lahore; he claimed fealty from Ghilghit; he was understood to be desirous of quarrelling with the Chinese Governor of Yarkund; and he renewed antiquated claims of Ludakh supremacy, and demanded the surrender of Rohtuk, Garo, and the lakes of Mansarawur, from the priestly King of Lassa.†

Zorawur Singh was desirous of acquiring territory

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* Compare Mr. Clerk to Government, 26th April, 9th and 31st May, and 25th Aug. 1840.

† Compare Mr. Clerk to Government, 25th Aug. and 8th Oct. 1840, and 2nd Jan. and 5th June, 1841.

and he was also intent on monopolizing the trade in shawl-wool, a considerable branch of which followed the Sutlej and more eastern roads to Loodiana and Delhi, and added nothing to the treasury of Jummoo.* In May and June, 1841, he occupied the valleys of the Indus and Sutlej, to the sources of those rivers, and he fixed a garrison close to the frontiers of Nepal, and on the opposite side of the snowy range from the British post of Almora. The petty Rajpoot princes between the Kalee and Sutlej suffered in their revenues, and trembled for their territories; the Nepal Government had renewed its intrigues of 1838, and was in correspondence with the crafty minister of Lahore, and with the disaffected Sindhanwala chief;† and the English

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* Compare Mr. Clerk to Government, 5th and 22d June, 1841.

† Compare Mr. Clerk to Government, 16th Aug. and 23d Nov. 1840, and 17th Jan. 1841; and Government to Mr. Clerk, 19th Oct. 1840. The correspondence of Nepal with the Sikhs, or rather with the Jummoo faction, doubtless arose in part from the presence of Matabur Singh, an eminent Goorkha, as a refugee in the Punjab. He crossed the Sutlej in 1838, and soon got a high command in the Lahore service, or rather, perhaps, a high position at the court. His success in this way, and his necessary correspondence with British functionaries, made the Nepal Government apprehensive of him, and at last he became so important in the eyes of the English themselves, that in 1840, when differences with Kathmandoo seemed likely to lead to hostilies, overtures were virtually made to him, and he was kept in hand, as it were, to be supported as a claimant for power, or as a partizan leader, should active measures be necessary. He was thus induced to quit the Punjab, where his presence, indeed, was not otherwise satisfactory; but the differences with the Goorkhas were composed, and Matabur Singh was cast aside with an allowance of a thousand rupees a month from the potent Government which

Government itself was at war with China, at the distance of half the earth's circumference. It was held that the trade of British Indain subjects must not be interfered with by Jummoo conquests in Chinese Tibet; it was deemed unadvisable to allow the Lahore and Nepal dominions to march with one another behind the Himalayas; and it was thought the Emperor of Pekin might confound independent Sikhs with the predominant English, and throw additional difficulties in the way of pending or probable negotiations.* It was therefore decided that Sher Singh should require his feudatories to evacuate the Lassa territories; a day, the 10th of December, 1841, was fixed for the surrender of Garo; and a British officer was sent to see that the grand Lama's authority was fully re-established. The Muharaja and his tributaries yielded, and Zorawur Singh was recalled; but before the order could reach him, or be acted on, he was surrounded in the depth of winter, and at a hight of towelve thousand feet or more above the sea, by a superior force from Lassa enured to frost and snow. The men of the Indain plains and southern Himalayas were straitened for fuel—as necessary as food in such a climate and at such a season; some even

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had demeaned itself by using him as a tool. (Compare particularly Government to Mr. Clerk, 4th May and 26th Oct. 1840; and Mr. Clerk to Government, 22d Oct. 1840.)

* Compare Government to Mr. Clerk, 16th Aug. and 6th and 20th Sept. 1841. The Sikhs, too, had their views with regard to China, and naively proposed co-operation with the English, or a diversion in *Tartary* in favor of the war then in progress on the *sea coast!* (Mr. Clerk to Government, 18th Aug. and 20th Oct. 1841)

burnt the stocks of their muskets to warm their hands; and on the day of battle, in the middle of December, they were benumbed in their ranks during a fatal pause; their leader was slain, a few principal men were reserved as prisoners, but the mass was left to perish, huddled in heaps behind rocks, or at the bottoms of ravines. The neighboring garrison on the Nepal frontier fled on hearing of the defeat; the men were not pursued, but in passing over ranges 16,000 feet high, on their way to Almora, the deadly cold reduced them to half their numbers, and left a moiety of the remainder maimed for life. *

During the spring of 1842 the victorious Chinese advanced along the Indus, and nct only recovered their own province, but occupied Ludakh and laid siege to the citadel of Leh. The Kalmuks and the ancient Sokpos, or Sacæ, talked of another invasion of Cashmeer, and the Tatars of the Greater and Lesser Tibet were elate with the prospect of revenge and plunder: but troops were poured across the Himalayas; the swordsmen and cannoneers of the south were dreaded by the unwarlike Bhotees; the siege of Leh was raised, and in the month of September (1842) Golab Singh's commander seized the Lassa Vuzeer by treachery, and dislodged his troop by stratagem from a position between Leh and Rohtuk,

* In this repaid sketch of Ludakh affairs, the author has necessarily depended for the most part on his own personal knowledge. After the battle on the Mansarawar Lake, the western passes remained closed for five weeks, and the defeat of the Sikhs was thus made known in Calcutta and Peshawur, through the reports of the fugitives to Almora, before it was heard of in the neighbouring Garo.

where they had proposed to await the return of winter. An arrangement was then come to between the Lassa and Lahore authorities, which placed matters on their old footing, agreeably to the desire of the English; and as the shawl-wool trade to the British provinces was also revived, no further intervention was considered necessary between the jealous Chinese and the restrained Sikhs.*

When in April, 1841, the troops in Cashmeer put their Governor to death, Raja Golab Singh was sent to restore order, and to place the authority of the new manager, Gholam Moheioodeen on a firm footing. The mutinous regiments were overpowered by numbers and punished with severity, and it was soon apparent that Golab Singh had made the Governor whom he was aiding a creature of his own, and had become the virtual master of the valley.† Neither the Minister nor his brother had ever been thought well pleased with English interference in the affairs of the Punjab; they were at the time in suspicious communication with Nepal; and they were held to be bound to Sultan Mahomed Khan, whose real or presumed intrigues with the enemies of

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* At Amritsir in March, 1846, when Golab Singh was formally inaugurated as Muharaja of Jummoo, he exhibited the engagement with the Lama of Lassa, drawn out on his part in yellow, and on the part of the Chinese in red ink, and each impressed with the open hand of the negotiators dipped in either color instead of a regular seal or written signature. The "Punja," or *hand*, seems in general use in Asia as typical of a covenant, and it is moreover a common emblem on the standards of the eastern Afghans.

† Compare Mr. Clerk to Government, 13th May, 9th July, and 3d Sept. 1840.

Shah Shooja had occasioned his removal to Lahore a year previously.* General Avitabile had become more and more urgent to be relieved from his dangerous post at Peshawur; the influence of Dhian Singh was predominant in Sikh counsels; and the English opinion of the ability of the Jummoo Rajas and of the excellence of their troops was well known, and induced a belief in partiality to be presumed.† It was therefore proposed by Sher Singh to bestow the Afghan province on the restorer of order in Cashmeer. But this arrangement would have placed the hills from the neighborhood of Kanggra to the Khyber Pass in the hands of men averse to the English and hostile to Shah Shooja; and as their troublesome ambition had been checked in Tibet, so it was resolved that their more dangerous establishment on the Caubul river should be prevented. In the autumn of 1841, therefore, the veto of the English Agent was put upon Raja Golab Singh's nomination to Peshawur.‡

About two months afterwards, or on the 2d November (1841), that insurrection broke out in Caubul

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* For this presumed understanding between the Jummoo Rajas and the Barukzaees of Peshawur, Mr. Clerk's letter of the 8th Oct. 1840, may be referred to among others.

† Mr. Clerk leant upon and perhaps much overrated Dhian Singh's capacity, "his military talents, and aptitude for business." (Mr. Clerk to Government, 7th Nov. 1840, and 13th May, 1841.) General Ventura, for instance, considered the Raja to possess a very slender understanding, and in such a matter he my be held to be a fair as well as a competent judge, although personally averse to the minister.

‡ Government to Mr. Clerk, 2d Aug., and Mr. Clerk to Government, 20th Aug. 1841.

which forms so painful a passage in British history. No valiant youth arose superior to the fatal influence of military subordination, to render illustrious the retreat of a handful of Englishmen, or more illustrious still, the successful defence of their position.* The brave spririt of Sir William Macnaghten laboured perseveringly, but in vain, against the unworthy fear which possessed the highest officers of the army; and the dismay of the distant commanders imparted some of its poison to the supreme authorities in India, who were weary of the useless and burdensome occupation of Khorassan. The first generous impulse was awed into a desire of annuling the Dooranee alliance, and of collecting a force on the Indus, or even so far back as the Sultej, there to fight for the empire of Hindostan with the torrents of exulting Afghans which the startled imaginations of Englishmen readily conjured up.† No confidence was placed in the efficiency or the friendship

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* There was no want of gallant and capable men in the subordinate ranks of the army, and it is known that the lamented Major Pottinger recorded his disapprobation of the retreat so fatuitiously commenced and so fatally ended, although, to give validity to documents, or an appearance of unanimity to counsels, he unfortunately put his name to the orders requiring the surrender of Candahar and Jellalabad.

† Compare Government to the Commander-in-Chief, 2d Dec. 1841, and 10th Feb. 1842; Government to Mr. Clerk, 10th Feb. 1842; and Government to Gen. Pollock, 24th Feb. 1842. Of those who recorded their opinions about the policy to be followed at the moment, it may be mentioned that Mr. Robertson, the Lieutenant-Governor of Agra, and Sir Herbert Maddock, the political secretary, advised a stand at Peshawur; and that Mr. Prinsep, a member of council, and Mr. Colvin, the

of the Sikhs ;* and although their aid was always considered of importance, the mode in which it was asked and used only served to sink the Lahore army lower than before in British estimation. †

Four regiments of Sepoys marched from Feerozpoor without guns, and unsupported by cavalry, to vainly endeavor to force the Pass of Khyber; and the Sikh troops at Peshawur were urged by the local British authorities in their praiseworthy ardor, rather than deliberately ordered by their own government at the instance of its ally, to co-operate in the attempt, or indeed to march alone to Jellalabad. The fact that the

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Governor-General's private secretary, recommended a withdrawal to the Sutlej. All, however, contemplated ulterior operations.

The Commander-in-Chief, it is well known, thought the means of the *English* for defending India itself somewhat scanty, and Mr. Clerk thought the *Sikhs* would be unable to check the invasion of mountaineers, which would assuredly take place were Jellalabad to fall. (Mr. Clerk to Government, 15ht Jan. 1842.)

* Government to the Commander-in-Chief, 15th March, 1842.

† Mr. Colvin, in the minute referred to in the preceding note, grounds his proposition for withdrawing to the Sutlej partly on Mr. Clerk's low estimate of the Sikhs, and their presumed inability to resist the Afghans. Colonel Wade seems to have had a somewhat similar opinion of the comparative prowess of the two races, on the fair presumption that the note (page 525) of Moonshee Shahamut Alee's *Sikhs and Afghans* is his. He says the Sikhs always dreaded the Khyberees ; and, indeed, General Avitabile could also take up the notion with some reason, in one sense, as the Magistrate of a district surrounded by marauding highlanders, and with sufficient adroitness in another when he did not desire to see Sikh regiments hurried into mountain defiles at the instance of the English authorities. (Compare the *Calcutta Review*, No. III. p. 142)

English had been beaten was notorious, and the belief in their alarm was welcome: the Sikh Governor was obliged, in the absence of orders, to take the sense of the regimental "punches" or committees; and the hasty requisition to march was rejected, through fear alone, as the English said, but really with feelings in which contempt, distrust, and apprehention were all mixed. The district Governor-General, Avitabile, who fortunately still retained his province, freely gave what aid he could; some pieces of artillery were furnished as well as abundance of ordinary supplies, and the British detachment effected the relief of Alee Musjid. But the unpardonable neglect of going to the Fort without the food which had been provided, obliged the garrison to retreat after a few days, and the disinclination of the Sikhs to fight the battles of strangers communicated itself to the mercenary soldiers of the English, and thus added to the Governor-General's dislike of the Afghan connection.*

The necessity of at least relieving the garrison of Jellalabad was paramount, and in the spring of 1842 a well equipped British force arrived at Peshawur; but the active co-operation of the Sikhs was still desirable,

* The statements in this paragraph are mainly taken from the author's notes of official and demi-official correspondence. The letter of Government to Mr. Clerk, of the 7th Feb. 1842, may also be referred to about the failure to hold Alee Musjid; and, further, it may be mentioned that Mr. Clerk. in his letter of the 10th February, pointed out, that although the Sikhs might not willingly co-operate in any sudden assault planned by the English, they would be found ready to give assistance during the campaign in the ways their experience taught them to be the most likely to lead to success.

and it was sought for under the terms of an obsolete article of the tripartite treaty with Shah Shooja, which gave Lahore a subsidy of two lakhs of rupees in exchange for the services of 5000 men.* Sher Singh was willing for the assist beyond this limited degree; he greatly facilitated the purchase of grain and the hire of carriage cattle in the Punjab, and his auxiliaries could be made to outnumber the troops of his allies; but he felt uneasy about the proceedings of the Sindhanwala chiefs, one of whom had gone to Calcutta to urge his own claims, or those of Maee Chund Kour, and all of whom retained influence in the Sikh ranks. He was assured that the refugees should not be allowed to disturb his reign, and there thus seemed to be no obstacle in the way of his full co-operation.† But the genuine Sikhs were held by the English to be both mutinous in disposition and inferior in warlike spirit; the soldiers of Jummoo were preferred, and Golab Singh was required to proceed to Peshawur to repress the insubordinate "Khalsa," and to give General Pollock the

* See Government to Mr. Clerk, 3d May and 23d July, 1842. The English Agents, however, rather tauntingly and imploringly reminded the Sikh authorities that they were bound to have such a force ready by agreement as well as by friendship, than formally revived the demand for its production under the stipulations of the treaty.

† Compare Mr. Clerk to Government, 2d Jan. and 31st March, 1842, and Government to Mr. Clerk, 17th Jan. and 12th May, 1842. With regard to assistance rendered by the Sikhs during the Afghan War in furnishing escorts, grain, and carriage for the British troops, Mr. Clerk's letters of the 15th Jan., 18th May, and 14th June, 1842, may be quoted. In the last it is stated that 17,381 camels had been procured through Sikh agency between 1839 and 1842.

assurance of efficient aid.* The raja was at the time completing the reduction of some iusurgent tribes between Cashmeer and Attok, and his heart was in Tibet, where he had himself lost an army and a kingdom. He went, but he knew the temper of his own hill levies: he was naturally unwilling to run any risk by following the modes of strangers to which he was unused, and he failed in rendering the Sikh battalions as decorous and orderly as English regiment. His prudence and ill-success were looked upon as collusion and insincerity, and he was thought to be in league with Akber Khan for the destruction of the army of an obnoxious European power.† Still his aid was held to be essential, and the local British officers proposed to bribe him by the offer of Jellalabad, independent of his sovereign Sher Singh. The scheme was justly condemned by Mr. Clerk,‡ the Khyber Pass was forced in the month of April, and the auxiliary Sikhs acquitted themselves to the satisfaction of the English General, without any promises having been made to the Raja of Jummoo, who gladly hurried to the Ludakh frontier to look

* Compare Mr. Clerk to Government, 10th Jan., 13th Feb. and 6th May, 1842. Government at first seemed indifferent whether Golab Singh went or not; and, indeed, Mr. Clerk himself rather suggested than required the Raja's employment; but suggestions or wishes could not, under the circumstances, be misconstrued.

† Compare Mr. Clerk to Government, 19th March, 1842.

‡ Mr. Clerk to Government, 13th Feb. 1842. The officers referred to are Major Mackeson and Lieut.-Col. Sir Henry Lawrence, whose names are so intimately, and in so many ways honorably, identified with the career of the English in the north-west of India.

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after interest dearer to him than the success or the vengeance of foreigners. It was designed by General Pollock to leave the whole of the Sikh division at Jellalabad, to assist in holding that district, while the main English army went to Caubul; but the proper interposition of Colonel Lawrence* enabled a portion of the Lahore troops to share in that retributive march, as they had before shared in the first invasion, and fully shown their fitness for meeting difficulties when left to do so in their own way.

The proposition of conferring Jellalabad on Golab Singh was taken up in a modified form by the new Governor-General Lord Ellenborough. As his lordship's views became formed, he laid it down as a principle, that neither the English nor the Sikh Government should hold dominion beyond the Himalayas and the "Suffed Koh" of Caubul; and as the Doorannee alliance seemed to be severed, there was little to apprehend from Jummoo and Barukzaee intrigues. It was, therefore, urged that Golab Singh should be required by the Muharaja to relinquish Ludakh, and to accept Jellalabad on equal terms of dependency on the Punjab.† The Sikhs were sufficiently desirous of adding to their dominion another Afghan district; but the terms did not satisfy Golab Singh, nor did Sher Singh see fit to

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* Lieut-Col. Lawrence to Major Mackeson, 23rd Aug. 1842. Lieut.-Col. Lawrence's article in the *Calcutta Review* (No. III. p. 180.) may also be advantageously referred to about the proceedings at Peshawur under Col. Wild, Sir George Pollock, and Raja Golab Singh.

† Government to Mr. Clerk, 27th April. 1842.

come to any conclusion until he should know the final views of the English with regard to the recognition of a government in Caubul.* The death of Shah Shooja and his suspicious proceedings were held to render the re-occupation of the country unnecessary, and the tripartite treaty was declared to be at an end;† but the policy of march on the Afghan capital was strongly urged and wisely adopted.‡ There seemed to be a prospect of wintering in Caubul, and it was not until the victorious troops were on their return to India, that it was believed the English would ever forego the possession of an empire. The Sikhs then consented to take Jellalabad, but before the order transferring it could reach General Pollok, § that commander had destroyed

* Mr. Clerk to Government, 18th May, 1842.

† Government to Mr. Clerk, 27th May and 19th July, 1842. In the treaty drafted by the Sikhs to take the place of the tripartite one, they put forward a claim of superiority over Sindh, and somewhat evaded the question of being parties only, instead of principals; to the acknowledgment of a ruler in Caubul. The treaty, however, never took a definite shape.

‡ Even the Sikhs talked of the impolicy, or, at least the disgrace, of suddenly and wholly withdrawing from Afghanistan in the manner proposed. (Mr. Clerk to Government, 19th July, 1842) Mr. Clerk himself was among the most prominent of those who at first modestly urged a march on Caubul, and afterwards manfully remonstrated against a hasty abandonment of the country. (See his letter above quoted, and also that of the 23d April, 1842)

§ The order was dated the 18th Oct. 1842. Lord Ellenborough himself was not without a suspicion that the victoriours generals might frame excuses for wintering in Caubul, and the expedition of Sir John M'Caskill into the Kohistan was less pleasing to him on that account than it would otherwise have been.

the fortifications, and nominally abandoned the place to the King whom he had expediently set up in the Bala Hissar. It is probable that Sher Singh was not unwilling to be relieved of the invidious gift, for his own sway in Lahore was distracted, and Dost Mahomed was about to be released under the pledge of a safe passage through the Punjab dominions; and it may have been thought prudent to conciliate the father of Akber Khan, so famous for his successes against the English, by the surrender of a possession it was inconvenient to hold.*

The Governor-General had prudently resolved to assemble an army at Feerozpoor, as a reserve in case of further disasters in Afghanistan, and to make known to the princes of India that their English masters had the

* The Shikhs were not unwilling to acquire territory, but they wished to see their way clearly, and they were unable to do so until the English had determined on their own line of policy. The Sikhs knew indeed of the resolution of the Governor-General to sever all connection with Afghanistan, but they also knew the sentiments of the majority of Englishmen about at least temporarily retaining it. They saw, moreover, that recruited armies were still in possession of every stronghold, and policy was new to them of voluntarily relinquishing dominion. They therefore paused, and the subsequent release of Dost Mahomed again fettered them when the retirement of the troops seemed to leave them free to act, for they were bound to escort the Ameer safely across the Punjab, and could not therefore make terms with him. The Sikhs would have worked through Sooltan Mahomed Khan and other chiefs, until they were in a condition to use the frequent plea of the English, of being able to govern better than dependants. (Compare Mr. Clerk to Government, 2d Sept. 1842)

ready means of beating any who might rebel.* Lord Ellenborough was also desirous of an interview with Sher Singh, and as gratitude was uppermost for the time, and added a grace even to success, it was proposed to thank the Muharaja in person for the proofs which he had afforded of his continued friendship. To invest the scene with greater eclat, it was further determined, in the spirit of the moment, to give expression to British sincerity and moderation at the head of the two armies returning victorious from Caubul, with their numbers increased to nearly forty thousand men by the force assembled on the Sutlej. The native English portion of this array was considerable, and perhaps so many Europeans had never stood together under arms on Indian ground since Alexander and his Greeks made the Punjab a province of Macedon. The Sikhs generally were pleased with one cause of this

* Lord Auckland had likewise thought that such a demonstration might be advisable. (Government to Mr. Clerk, 3rd Dec. 1841) Of mearsures practically identified with Lord Ellenborough's administration, Lord Auckland may further claim the merit of giving the generals commanding in Afghanistan supreme authority (Resolution of Government, 6th Jan. 1842.), and of directing Sir William Nott to act without reference to previous instructions, and as *he* might deem best for the safety of his troops and the honor of the British name. (Government to Sir William Nott, 10th Feb. 1842.) To Lord Auckland however, is due the *doubtful* praise of suggesting the release of Dost Mahamed (Government to Mr. Clerk, 24th Feb. 1842); and he must certainly bear a share of the blame attached to the exaggerated estimate formed of the dangers which threatened the English after the retreat from Caubul, and to the timorous rather than prudent design of falling back on the Indus, or even on the Sutlej.

assemblage, and they were glad to be relieved of the presence of the English on their western frontier; but Sher Singh himself did not look forward to his visit to Lord Ellenborough without some misgivings, although under other circumstances his vanity would have been gratified by the opportunity of displaying his power and magnificence. He felt his incapacity as a ruler, and he needlessly feared that he might be called to account for Sikh excesses and for a suspected intercourse with the hostile Ameers of Sindh then trembling for their fate, and even that the subjugation of the Punjab was to be made the stepping-stone to the complete reduction of Afghanistan. He had no confidence in himself; and he dreaded the vengeance of his followers, who believed him capable of sacrificing the Khalsa to his own interests. Nor was Dhian Singh supposed to be willing that the Muharaja should meet the Governor-General, and his suspicious temper made him apprehensive that his sovereign might induce the English Viceroy to accede to his ruin, or to the reduction of his exotic influence. Thus both Sher Singh and his Minister perhaps rejoiced that a misunderstanding which prevented the reception at Loodiana of Lehna Singh Mujeetheea, was seized hold of by the English to render a meeting doubtful or impossible.* Lord Ellenborough justly

* On several occasions Raja Dhian Singh expressed his apprehensions of an English invasion, as also did Muharaja Sher Singh. (See, for instance, Mr. Clerk to Government, 2nd Jan. 1842) The writer of the article in the *Calcutta Review* (No. II. p. 493), who is believed to be Lieut.-Col. Lawrence, admits Dhian Sing's aversion to a meeting between his sovereign and the British Governor-General. The reviewer

took offence at a slight which, however unwittingly had been really offered to him ; he was not easily appeased ; and when the personal apologies of the Minister, accompanied by the young heir-apparent, had removed every ground of displeasure, the appointed time, the beginning of January, 1843, for the breaking-up of the

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likewise describes Sher Singh's anxiety at the time, but considers him to have been desirous of throwing himself unreservedly on English protection, as doubtless he might have been, had he thought himself secure from assassination, and that Lord Ellenborough would have kept *him* seated on the throne of Lahore at all hazards.

About the suspected hostile intercourse with the Ameers of Sindh, see Thornton's *History of India*, vi. 447. The Sikhs, however, were never required to give any explanation of the charges.

The misunderstanding to which Sirdar Lehna Singh was a party was simply as follows :—The Sirdar had been sent to wait upon the Governor-General on his arrival on the frontier, according to ordinary ceremonial. It was arranged that the Sirdar should be received by his lordship at Loodiana, and the day and hour were fixed, and preparations duly made. Mr. Clerk went in person to meet the chief, and conduct him to the Governor-General's presence, *his* understanding being that he was to go half the distance or so towards the Sikh encampment. The Sirdar understood or held that Mr. Clerk should or would come to his tent and thus he sat still while Mr. Clerk rested half way for two hours or more. Lord Ellenborough thought the excuse of the Sirdar frivolous, and that offence was wantonly given, and he accordingly required an explanation to be afforded. (Government to Mr. Clerk 15th Dec. 1842) There is some reason to believe that the Lahore Vukeel, who was in the interest of Raja Dhian Singh, misled the obnoxious Lehna Singh about the arrangements for conducting him to the Governor-General's tents, with the view of discrediting him both with his own master and with the English.

large army had arrived, and the Governor-General did not care to detain his war-worn regiments any longer from their distant stations. No interview thus took place with Sher Singh; but the boy Prince, Pertab Singh, was visited by Lord Ellenborough; and the rapidity with which a large escort of Sikh troops was crossed over the Sutlej when swollen with rain, and the alacrity and precision with which they manœuvred, deserved to have been well noted by the English captains, proud as they had reason to be of the numbers and achievements of their own troops. The Prince likewise reviewed the Anglo-Indian forces, and the Sikh chiefs looked with interest upon the defenders of Jellalabad, and with unmixed admiration upon General Nott followed by his valiant and compact band. At last the armed host broke up; the plains of Feerozpoor were no longer white with numerous camps; and the relieved Sher Singh hastened, or was hurried, to Amritsir to return thanks to God that a great danger had passed away. This being over, he received Dost Mahomed Khan with distinction at Lahore, and in February (1843), entered into a formal treaty of friendship with the released Ameer, which said nothing about the English gift of Jellalabad.*

But Sher Singh principally feared his own chiefs and subjects, and although the designed or fortuitous murder of Maee Chund Kour in June, 1842,† relieved him

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* Government to Mr. Clerk 15th Feb. and 17th March, 1843.

† Mr. Clerk to Government, 15th June, 1842. The widow of Muharaja Khurruk Singh was so severely beaten, as was said by her female attendants, that she almost immediately expired. The only explanation offered, was that she had chidden the servants in

of some of his apprehensions, he felt uneasy under the jealous domination of Dhian Singh, and began to listen readily to the smooth suggestions of Bhaee Goormookh Singh, his priest so to speak, and who was h im some religious reputation, as well as the son of a man of acknowledged sanctity and influence.* The English Government, in its well meant but impracticable desire to unite all parties in the country, had urged the restoration to favor of the Sindhanwala chiefs, who kept its own agents on the alert, and the Muharaja himself in a state of doubt or alarm.† Sher Singh, from his easiness of nature, was not averse to a reconciliation, and by degrees he even became not unwilling to have the family about him as some counterpoise to the Rajas of Jummoo. Neither was Dhian Singh opposed to their return, for he thought they might be made some use of since Maee Chund Kour was no

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question for some fault, and the public was naturally unwilling to believe Sher Singh, at least, guiltless of instigating the murder.

* In the beginning of his reign, Sher Singh had leant much upon an active and ambitious follower, named Jowla Singh, whose bravery was conspicuous during the attack on Lahore. This petty leader hoped to supplant both the Sindhanwala chiefs and the Jammoo Rajas and leading courtiers, but he proceeded too hastily ; he was seized and imprisoned by Dhian Singh in May 1841, and died by foul means immediately afterwards. (Compare Mr. Clerk to Government, 7th May, and 10th June, 1841)

† Mr. Clerk to Government, 7th April, 1842, and Government to Mr. Clerk, 12th May, 1842 ; see also Lieut.-Col. Richmond to Government, 5th Sept. 1843. Mr. Clerk became Lieutenant Governor of Agra in June 1843, and he was succeeded as Agent on the frontier by Lieut.-Col. Richmond, an officer of repute, who had recently distinguished himself under Sir George Pollock.

more, and thus Ajeet Singh and his uncles again took their accustomed places in the court of Lahore. Nevertheless during the summer of 1843, Dhian Singh perceived that his influence over the Muharaja was fairly on the wane; and he had good reason to dread the machinations of Goormookh Singh and the passions of the multitude when roused by a man of his character. The Minister then again began to talk of the boy, Dhuleep Singh, and to endeavor to possess the minds of the Sindhanwala chiefs with the belief, that they had been inveigled to Lahore for their more assured destruction. Ajeet Singh had by this time become the boon companion of the Muharaja; but he was himself ambitious of power, and he and his uncle Lehna Singh grasped at the idea of making the Minister a party to their own designs. They appeared to fall wholly into his views; and they would, they said, take Sher Singh's life to save their own. On the 15th September (1843), Ajeet Singh induced the Muharaja to inspect some levies he had newly raised; he approached, as if to make an offering of a choice carbine, and to receive the commendations usual on such occasions, but he raised the weapon and shot his sovereign dead. The remorseless Lehna Singh took the life of the boy Pertab Singh at the same time, and the kinsmen then joined Dhian Singh, and proceeded with him to the citadel to proclaim a new King. The hitherto wary minister was now caught in his own toils, and he became the dupe of his accomplices. He was separated from his immediate attendants, as if for the sake of greater privacy, and shot by the same audacious chief who had just imbrued his hands in the blood of their

common master.* The conspirators were thus far successful in their daring and in their crimes, but they neglected to slay or imprison the son of their last victim; and the minds of the soldiers do not seem to have been prepared for the death of Dhian Singh, as they were for that of the Muharaja. The youthful Heera Singh was roused by his own danger and his filial duty; he could plausibly accuse the Sindhanwalas of being alone guilty of the treble murder which had taken place, and he largely promised rewards to the troops if they would avenge the death of *their* friend and *his* father. The army generally responded to his call, and the citadel was immediately assaulted; yet so strong was the feeling of aversion to Jummoo ascendancy among the Sikh people, that could the feeble garrison have held out for three or four days, until the first impulse of anger and surprise had passed away, it is almost certain that Heera Singh must have fled for his life. But the place was entered on the second evening; the wounded Lehna Singh was at once slain; and Ajeet Singh, in attempting to boldly escape over the lofty walls, fell and was also killed.† Dhuleep Singh was then proclaimed Muharaja, and Heera Singh was raised to the high and fatal office of Vuzeer; but he was all powerful for the moment; the Sindhanwala possessions were confiscated, and their dwellings razed to ground: nor did the youthful avenger stay untill he had found out and put to death Bhaee Goormookh Singh

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* Lieut.-Col. Richmond to Government, 17th and 18th Sept. 1843.

† Lieut.-Col. Richmond to Government, 20th Sept. 1843.

and Misser Behlee Ram, the former of whom was believed to have connived at the death of his confiding master, and to have instigated the assassination of the Minister ; and the latter of whom had always stood high in the favor of the great Muharaja, although strongly opposed to the aggrandizement of the Jummoo family. Sirdar Uttur Singh Sindhanwala, who was hurrying to Lahore when he heard of the capture of the citadel, made a hasty attempt to rouse the village population in his favor through the influence of Bhaee Beer Singh, a devotee of great repute ; but the "Khalsa" was almost wholly represented by the army, and he crossed at once into the British territories to avoid the emissaries of Heera Singh.*

The new minister added two rupees and a half, or five shillings a month, to the pay of the common soldiers, and he also discharged some arrears due to them. The army felt that it had become the master of the state and it endeavored to procure donatives, or to place itself right in public estimation, by threatening to eject the Jummoo faction, and to make the Bhaee Beer Singh, already mentioned, a king as well as a priest.† Jowahir Singh, the maternal uncle of the boy Muharaja, already grasped the highest post he could occupy ; nor was the Minister's family united within itself. Soochet Singh's vanity was mortified by the ascendancy of his nephew, a stripling, unacquainted with war, and inexperienced in business ; and he endeavored to form a party which

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* Lieut.-Col. Richmond's letters from 12st Sept. to 2nd Oct. 1843.

† Lieut.-Col. Richmond to Government, 26th Sept 1843.

should place him in power.* The youthful Vuzeer naturally turned to his other uncle, Golab Singh, for support, and that astute chief cared not who held titles while he was deferred to and left unrestrained; but the Sikhs were still averse to him personally, and jealous lest he should attempt to garrison every stronghold with his own followers. Golab Singh was, therefore, cautious in his proceedings, and before he reached Lahore, on the 10th of November, he had sought to ingratiate himself with all parties, save Jowahir Singh, whom he may have despised as of no capacity.† Jowahir Singh resented this conduct, and taking advantage of the ready access to the Muharaja's person which his relationship gave him, he went with the child in his arms, on the occasion of a review of some troops, and urged the assembled regiments to depose the Jummoo Rajas, otherwise he would fly with his nephew, their acknowledged Prince, into the British territories. But the design of procuring aid from the English was displeasing to the Sikhs, both as an independent people and as a licentious soldiery, and Johawir Singh was immediately made a prisoner, and thus received a lesson which influenced his conduct during the short remainder of his life.‡

Nevertheless, Heera Singh continued to be beset with difficulties. There was one Futteh Khan Towana, a personal follower of Dhian Singh, who was supposed to

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* Lieut.-Col. Richmond to Government, 16th and 22nd Oct. 1843.

† Compare Lieut.-Col. Richmond to Government, 26th Sept. and 16th Nov. 1843.

‡ Lieut.-Col. Richmond to Government, 28th Nov. 1843.

have been privy to the intended assassination of his master, and to have designedly held back when Ajeet Singh took the Raja to one side. This petty leader fled as soon as the army attacked the citadel, and endeavored to raise an insurrection in his native province of Dera Ismaeel Khan, which caused the greater anxiety, as the attempt was supposed to be countenanced by the able and hostile Governor of Mooltan.* Scarcely had measures been adopted for reducing the petty rebellion, when Cashmeera Singh and Peshawura Singh, sons born to, or adopted by, Runjeet Singh at the period of his conquest of the two Afghan provinces form which they were named, started up as the rivals of the child Dhuleep, and endeavored to form a party by appearing in open opposition at Seealkot. Some regiments ordered to Peshawur joined the two Princes ; the Mahometan regiments at Lahore refused to march against them unless a pure Sikh force did the same ; and it was with difficulty, and only with the aid of Raja Golab Singh, that the siege of Seealkot was formed. The two young men soon showed themselves to be incapable of heading a party ; Heera Singh relaxed in his efforts against them ; and towards the end of March he raised the siege, and allowed them to go at large.† The Minister had, however less reason to be satisfied with the success of Jowahir Singh, who, about the same time induced his guards to release him and he was unwillingly allowed to assume

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* Lieut.-Col. Richmond to Government, 12th Dec. 1843.

† Lieut.-Col. Richmond to Government, 23rd and 27th March, 1844.

his place in the court as the uncle of the child to whose sovereignty in the abstract all nominally deferred.*

Raja Soochet Singh was believed to have been a secret party to the attempts of Cashmeera Singh, and the release of Jowahir Singh was also probably effected with his cognizance. The Raja believed himself to be popular with the army, and especially with the cavalry portion of it, which having an inferior organization began to show some jealousy of the systematic proceedings of the regular infantry and artillery. He had retired to the hills with great reluctance ; he continued intent upon supplanting his nephew ; and suddenly, on the evening of thd 26th of March, 1844, he appeared at Lahore with a few followers ; but he appealed in vain to the mass of the troops, partly because Heera Singh had been liberal in gifts and profuse in promises, and partly because the shrewd deputies who formed the Punchayets of the regiments, had a sense of their own importance, and were not to be won for purposes of mere faction, without diligent and judicious seeking. Hence, on the morning after the arrival of the sanguine and hasty Raja, a large force marched against him without demur; but the chief was brave, he endeavored to make a stand in a ruinous building, and he died fighting to the last, although his little band was almost destroyed by the fire of a numerous artillery before the assailants could reach the inclosure.†

Within two months after this rash undertaking, Uttur Singh Sindhanwala, who had been residing at Thanehsir, made a similar ill-judged attempt to gain over

* Lieut.-Col. Richmond to Government, 27th March, 1844.

† Lieut.-Col. Richmond to Government, 29th March, 1844.

the army, and to expel Heera Singh. He crossed the Sutlej on the 2nd May, but instead of moving to a distance so as to avoid premature collisions, and to enable him to appeal to the feelings of the Sikhs, he at once joined Bhaee Beer Singh, whose religious repute attracted numbers of the agricultural population, and took up a position almost opposite Feerozpoor, and within forty miles of the capital. The disaffected Cashmeera Singh joined the chief, but Heera Singh stood as a suppliant before the assembled Khalsa, and roused the feelings of the troops by reminding them that the Sindhanwalas looked to the English for support. A large force promptly marched from Lahore, but it was wished to detach Bhaee Beer Singh from the rebel, for to assail so holy a man was held to be sacrilege by the soldiers, and on the seventh of the month deputies were sent to induce the Bhaee to retire. Some expressions moved the anger of Sirdar Uttur Singh, and he slew one of the deputies with his own hand. This act led to an immediate attack. Uttur Singh and Cashmeera Singh were both killed, and it was found that a cannon shot had likewise numbered Bhaee Beer Singh with the slain. The commander on this occasion was Labh Singh, a Rajpoot of Jummoo, and the possession of the family of Cashmeera Singh seemed to render his success more complete; but the Sikh infantry rsfused to allow the women and children to be removed to Lahore; and Labh Singh, alarmed by this proceeding and by the lamentations over the death of Beer Singh, hastened to the capital to ensure his own safety.*

* Lieut.Col. Richmond to Government, 10th, 11th, and 12th May 1844.

Heera Singh was thus successful against two main enemies of his rule, and as he had also come to an understanding with the Governor of Mooltan, the proceedings of Futteh Khan Towana gave him little uneasiness.* The army itself was his great cause of anxiety, not lest the Sikh dominion should be contracted, but lest he should be rejceted as its master; for the Punchayets, although bent on retaining their own power, and on acquiring additional pay and privileges for their constituents the soldiers, were equally resolved on maintaining the integrity of the empire, and they arranged among themselves about the relief of the troops in the provinces. On the frontiers, indeed, the Sikhs continued to exhibit their innate vigor, and towards the end of 1843 the secluded principality of Ghilghit was overrun and annexed to Cashmeer. The Punchayets likewise felt that it was the design of the Raja and his advisers to disperse the Sikh army over the country, and to raise additional corps of hill men, but the committees will not allow a single regiment to quit Lahore without satisfying themselves of the necessity of the measure; and thus Heera Singh was induced to take advantage of a projected relief of the British troops in Sindh, and the consequent march of several battalions towards the Sutlej, to heighten or give a colour to his own actual suspicions, and to hint that a near danger threatened the Sikhs on the side of the English. The "Khalsa" was most willing to encounter *that* neighbor, and a brigade was induced to move to

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* Compare Lieut.-Col. Richmond to Government, 29th April, 1844.

Kussoor, and others to shorter distances from the capital, under the plea, as avowed to the British authorities, of procuring forage and supplies with greater facility.* Such had indeed been Runjeet Singh's occasional practice when no assemblage of British forces could add to his ever present fears; † but Heera Singh's apprehensions of his own army and of his English allies were lessened by his rapid successes, and by the disgraceful spirit which then animated the regular regiments in the British service. The Sepoys refused to proceed to Sindh, and the Sikhs watched the progress of the mutiny with a pleased surprise. It was new to them to see these renowned soldiers in opposition to their government; but any glimmering hopes of fatal embarrassment to the colossal power of the foreigners were dispelled by the march of European troops, by the good example of the irregular cavalry, and by the returning sense of obedience of the Sepoys themselves. The British forces proceeded to Sindh, and the Lahore detachment was withdrawn from Kussoor.‡

Nevertheless there were not wanting causes of real or alleged dissatisfaction with the British Government, which at last served the useful purpose of engaging the attention of the Lahore soldiery. The protected Sikh Raja of Naba had given a village, named Mowran, to Runjeet Singh at the Muharaja's request, in order that

* Compare Lieut.-Col. Richmond to Government, 20th Dec. 1843, and 23rd March, 1844.

† See for instance Sir David Ochterloney to Government, 16th Oct. 1812.

‡ Compare Lieut.-Col. Richmond to Government, 29th April, 1844.

it might be bestowed on Dhunna Singh, a Naba subject, but who stood high in favor with the master of the Punjab. The village was so given in 1819, or after the introduction of the English supremacy, but without the knowledge of the English authorities, which circumstance rendered the alienation invalid, if it were argued that the village had become separated from the British sovereignty. The Raja of Naba became displeased with Dhunna Singh, and he resumed his gift in the year 1843; but in so doing his soldiers wantonly plundered the property of the feudatory, and thus gave the Lahore Government a ground of complaint, of which advantage was taken for party purposes.* But Heera Singh and his advisers took greater exception still at the decision of the British Government with regard to a quantity of coin and bullion which Raja Soochet Singh had secretly deposited in Feerozpoor, and which his servants were detected in endeavoring to remove after his death. The treasure was estimated at 1,500,000 rupees, and it was understood to have been sent to Feerozpoor during the recent Afghan war, for the purpose of being offered as part of an ingratiatory loan to the English Government, which was borrowing money at the time from the protected Sikh chiefs. The Lahore Minister claimed the treasure both as he escheated property of a feudatory without male heirs of his body, and as the confiscated property of a rebel killed in arms against his sovereign; but the British Government considered the right to the property to be unaffected by the

* Lieut.-Col. Richmond to Government, 18th and 28th May, 1844.

owner's treason, and required that the title to it, according to the laws of Jummoo or of the Punjab, should be regularly pleaded and proved in a British court. It was argued in favor of Lahore that no British subject or defendant claimed the treasure, and that it might be expediently made over to the ruler of the Punjab for surrender to the legal or customary owner; but the supreme British authorities would not relax further from the conventional law of Europe than to say, that if the Muharaja would write that the Rajas Golab Singh and Heera Singh assented to the delivery of the treasure to the Sikh state for the purpose of being transferred to the rightful owners, it would no longer be detained. This proposal was not agreed to, partly because differences had in the meantime arisen between the uncle and nephew, and partly because the Lahore councillors considered their original grounds of claim to be irrefragable, according to Indian law and usage, and thus the money remained a source of dissatisfaction, until the English stood masters in Lahore, and accepted it as part of the price of Cashmeer, when the valley was alienated to Raja Golab Singh. *

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* For the discussions about the surrender or the detention of the treasure, see the letters of Lieut.-Colonel Richmond to Government of the 7th April, 3rd and 27th May, 25th July, 10th September, and 5th and 25th October, 1844; and of Government to Lieut.-Colonel Richmond of the 19th and 22nd April, 17th May, and 10th August of the same year.

The principle laid down of deciding the claim to the treasure at a British tribunal, and according to the laws of Lahore or of Jummoo, does not distinguish between public and individual right of heirship; or rather it decides the question with reference solely to the law in private cases. Throughout India, the practical

Heera Singh had, in his acts and successes, surpassed the general expectation, and the manner in

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rule has ever been that such property shall be administered agreeably to the customs of the tribe or province to which the deceased belonged; and very frequently, when the only litigants are subjects of one and the same foreign state, it is expediently made over the sovereign of that state for adjudication, on the plea that the rights of the parties can be best ascertained on the spot, and that every ruler is a renderer of justice.

In the present instance, the imperfection of the International Law of Europe may be more to blame than the Government of India and the legal authorities of Calcutta, for refusing to acknowledge the right of an allied and friendly state to the property of a childless rebel; to which property, moreover, no British subject or dependent preferred a claim. Vattel lays it down that a stranger's property remains a part of the aggregate wealth of his nation, and that the right to it is to be determined according to the laws of his own country (book II. chap. viii. sects. 109 and and 110); but in the section in question reference is solely made to cases in which subjects or private parties are litigants; although Mr. Chitty, in his note to sect. 103. (ed. 1834) shows that foreign sovereigns can in England sue, at least, British subjects.

The oriental customary law with regard to the estates and and property of Jagheerdars (feudal beneficiaries) may be seen in *Bernier's Travels* (i. 183—187.). The right of the Government is full, and it is based on the feeling or principle that beneficiary has only the use during life of estates or offices, and that all he may have accumulated, through parsimony or oppression, is the property of the state. It may be difficult to decide between a people and an expelled sovereign, about his guilt or his tyranny, but there can be none in deciding between an allied state and its subject about treason or rebellion. Neither refugee traitors nor patriots are allowed to abuse their asylum by plotting against the Government which has cast them out; and an extension of the principle would prevent desperate adventurers defrauding the

which affairs were carried on seemed to argue unlooked-for abilities of a high order; but the Raja himself had little more than a noble presence and a conciliatory address to recommend him, and the person who directed every measure was a Brahmin Pundit, named Julla, the family priest, so to speak, of the Jummoo brothers, and the tutor of Dhian Singh's sons. This crafty and ambitious man retained all the influence over the youthful Minister which he had exercised over the boyish pupil on whom Runjeet Singh lavished favors. Armies had marched, and chiefs had been vanquished, as if at the bidding of the preceptor become councillor. His views expanded, and he seems to have entertained the idea of founding a dynasty of "Peshwas" among the rude Juts of the Punjab, as had been done by one of his tribe among the equally rude Mahrattas of the south. He fully perceived that the Sikh army must be conciliated, and also that it must be employed. He despised, and with some reason, the spirit and capacity of most of the titular chiefs of the country; and he felt that Raja Golab Singh absorbed a large proportion of the revenues of the country, and seriously embarrassed the central government by his overgrown power and influence. It was primarily requisite to keep the army well and regularly paid, and hence the pundit proceeded without scruple to sequester several of the fiefs of the sirdars, and gradually to inspire the soldiery with the necessity of a march against Jummoo. Nor was he without a pretext for denouncing Golab Singh,

state which has reared and heaped favors on them, by removing their property previous to engaging in rash and criminal enterprises.

as that unscrupulous chief had lately taken possession of the estates of Raja Soochet Singh, to which he regarded himself as the only heir.*

Julla showed vigour and capacity in all he did, but he proceeded too hastily in some matters, and he attempted too much at one time. He did not, perhaps, understand the Sikh character in all its depths and ramifications, and he probably undervalued the subtlety of Golab Singh. The Raja, indeed, was induced to divide the Jagheers of Soochet Singh with his nephew,† but Futteh Khan Towana again excited an insurrection in the Derajat;‡ Chutter Singh Atareewala took up arms near Rawil Pindee,§ and the Mahometan tribes south-west of Cashmeer were encouraged in rebellion by the dexterous and experienced chief whom Pundit Julla sought to crush.|| Peshawura Singh again aspired to the sovereignty of the Punjab; he was supported by Golab Singh, and Julla at last perceived the necessity of coming to terms with one so formidable.¶ A reconciliation was accordingly patched up, and the Raja sent his son Sohun Singh to Lahore.** The hopes of

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* Compare Lieut.-Col. Richmond to Government, 13th Aug. and 10th Oct., 1844.

† Lieut.-Col. Richmond to Government, 30th Oct. 1844.

‡ Lieut.-Col. Richmond to Government, 14th June 1844.

§ Lieut.-Col. Richmond to Government, 16th Oct. 1844.

|| Major Broadfoot to Government, 24th Nov. 1844.

¶ Lieut.-Col. Richmond to Government, 16th Oct. 1844, and Major Broadfoot to Government, 24th Nov. 1844.

** Lieut.-Col. Richmond to Government, 30th Oct. 1844, and Major Broadfoot to Government, 13th Nov. and 16th Dec. 1844.

Peshawura Singh then vanished, and he fled for safety to the south of the Sutlej. *

Pundit Julla made the additional mistake of forgetting that the Sikhs were not jealous of Golab Singh alone, but of all strangers to their faith and race ; and in trying to crush the chiefs, he had forgotten that they were Sikhs equally with the soldiers, and that the "Khalsa" was a word which could be used to unite the high and low. He showed no respect even to sirdars of ability and means. Lehna Singh Mujeetheea quitted the Punjab, on pretence of a pilgrimage, in the month of March, 1844,† and the only person who was raised to any distinction was the unworthy Lal Singh, a Brahmin, and a follower of the Rajas of Jummoo, but who was understood to have gained a disgraceful influence over the impure mind of Ranee Jindan. The Pundit again, in his arrogance, had ventured to use some expressions of impatience and disrespect towards the mother of the Muharaja, and he had habitually treated Jowahir Singh, her brother, with neglect and contempt. The impulsive soldiery was wrought upon by the incensed woman and ambitious man ; the relict of the great Muharaja appealed to the children of the

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* Major Broadfoot to Government, 14th and 18th Nov. 1844. Major Broadfoot, who succeeded Lieut.-Col. Richmond as agent on the frontier on the 1st Nov. 1844 received Peshawura Singh with civilities unusual under the circumstances, and proposed to assign him allowance of a thousand rupees a month.

† Lehna Singh went first to Hurdwar and afterwards to Benares. He next visited Gya and Jaggernath and Calcutta, and he was residing in the last named place when hostilities broke out with the Sikhs.

Khalsa, already excited by the proscribed chiefs, and Heera Singh and Pundit Julla perceived that their rule was at an end. On the 21st December, 1844, they endeavored to avoid the wrath of the Sikh soldiery by a sudden flight from the capital, but they were overtaken and slain before they could reach Jummoo, along with Sohun Singh, the cousin of the Minister, and Labh Singh, so lately hailed as a victorious commander. The memory of Pundit Julla continued to be execrated, but the fate of Heera Singh excited some few regrets, for he had well avenged the death of his father, and he had borne his dignities with grace and modesty.*

The sudden breaking up of Heera Singh's government caused some confusion for a time, and the state seemed to be without a responsible head; but it was gradually perceived that Jowahir Singh, the brother, and Lal Singh, the favorite of the Ranee, would form the most influential members of the administration.† Peshawura Singh, indeed, escaped from the custody of the British authorities, by whom he had been placed under surveillance, when he fled across the Sutlej; but he made no attempt at the moment to become supreme, and he seemed to adhere to those who had so signally avenged him on Heera Singh.‡ The services of the

* Compare Major Broadfoot to Government, 24th and 28th Dec. 1844.

† Compare Major Broadfoot to Government, 24th and 28th Dec. 1844.

‡ Compare Major Broadfoot to Government, 28th Dec. 1844, and 4th Jan. 1845. As Major Broadfoot, however points out, the Prince seemed ready enough to grasp at power even so early as January.

troops were rewarded by the addition of half a rupee a month to the pay of the common soldier, many fiefs were restored, and the cupidity of all parties in the state was excited by a renewal of the designs against Golab Singh.* The disturbances in the mountains of Cashmeer were put down, the insurgent Futteh Khan was taken into favor, Peshawur was secure against the power of all the Afghans, although it was known that Golab Singh encouraged the reduced Barukzaees with promises of support ;† but it was essential to the Government that the troops should be employed : it was pleasing to the men to be able to gratify their avarice or their vengeance, and they therefore marched against Jummoo with alacrity.‡

Golab Singh, who knew the relative inferiority of his soldiers, brought all his arts into play. He distributed his money freely among the Punchayets of regiments, he gratified the members of these committees by his personal attentions, and he again inspired Peshawura Singh with designs upon the sovereignty itself. He promised a gratuity to the army which had marched to urge upon him the propriety of submission, he agreed to surrender certain portions of the general possessions of the family, and to pay to the state a fine of 3,500,000 rupees.§ But an altercation arose between the Lahore

* Compare Major Broadfoot to Government, 28th Dec. 1844, and 2nd Jan. 1845.

† Major Broadfoot to Government, 15th Jan. 1845.

‡ The troops further rejected the terms to w[illegible] court seemed inclined to come with Golgb Singh. ([illegible] foot to Government, 22nd Jan. 1845)

§ Major Broadfoot to Government, 11th March, 1845.

and Jummoo followers when the promised donative was being removed, which ended in a fatal affray; and afterwards an old Sikh chief, Futteh Singh Man, and one Butchna, who had deserted Golab Singh's service, were waylaid and slain.* The Raja protested against the accusation of connivance or treachery; nor is it probable that at the time he desired to take the life of any one except Butchna, who had been variously employed by him, and who knew the extent of his resources. The act nevertheless greatly excited the Sikh soldiery, and Golab Singh perceived that submission alone would save Jummoo from being sacked. He succeeded in partially gaining over two brigades, he joined their camp, and he arrived at Lahore early in April, 1845, half a prisoner, and yet not without a reasonable prospect of becoming the Minister of the country; for the mass of the Sikh soldiery thought that one so great had been sufficiently humbled, the Punchayets had been won by his money and his blandishments, and many of the old servants of Runjeet Singh had confidence in his ability and in his good will towards the state generally.† There yet, however, existed some remnants of the animosity which had proved fatal to Heera Singh; the representatives of many expelled hill chiefs were ready to compass the death of their greatest enemy; and an Akalee fanatic could take the life of the "Dogra" Raja with applause and impunity. Jowahir Singh plainly aimed at the office of Vuzeer, and Lall Singh's

* Major Broadfoot to Government, 3rd March, 1845.

† Compare Major Broadfoot to Government, 8th and 9th April, and 5th May, 1845.

own ambition prompted him to use his influence with the mother of the Muharaja to resist the growing feeling in favor of the chief whose capacity for affairs all envied and dreaded. Hence Golab Singh deemed it prudent to avoid a contest for power at that time, and to remove from Lahore to a place of greater safety. He agreed to pay in all a fine of 6,800,000 rupees, to yield up nearly all the districts which had been held by his family, excepting his own proper fiefs, and to renew his lease of the salt mines between the Indus and Jhelum, on terms which virtually deprived him of a large profit, and of the political superiority fn the hills of Rhotas.* He was present at the installation of Jowahir Singh as Vuzeer on the 14th May,† and at the betrothal of the Muharaja to a daughter of the Ataree chief Chuttar Singh on the 10th July;‡ and towards the end of the following month he retired to Jummoo, shorn of much real power, but became acceptable to the troops by his humility, and to the final conviction of the English authorities, that the levies of the mountain Rajpoots were unequal to a contest even with the Sikh soldiery. §

The able Governor of Mooltan was assassinated in the month of September, 1844, by a man accused of marauding, and yet imprudently allowed a considerable

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* Major Broadfoot to Government, 5th May, 1845.

† Major Broadfoot to Government, 24th may, 1845.

‡ Major Broadfoot to Governmet, 14th July, 1845.

§ Major Broadfoot confessed that "late events had shown the Raja's weakness in the hills," where he should have been strongest, had his follower been brave and trusty. (Major Broadfoot to Government, 5th May, 1845.

degree of liberty.* Mool Raj, the son of the Deewan, had been appointed or permitted to succeed his father by the declining government of Heera Singh, and he showed more aptitude for affairs than was expected. He suppressed a mutiny among the provincial troops, partly composed of Sikhs, with vigor and success; and he was equally prompt in dealing with a younger brother, who desired to have half the province assigned to him as the equal heir of the deceased Deewan. Mool Raj put his brother in prison, and thus freed himself from all local dangers; but he had steadily evaded the demands of the Lahore court for an increased farm or contract, and he had likewise objected to the large "Nuzzerana," or relief, which was required as the usual condition of succession. As soon, therefore, as Golab Singh had been reduced to obedience, it was proposed to dispatch a force against Mooltan, and the "Khalsa" approved of the measure through the assembled Punchayets of regiments and brigades. This resolution induced the new Governor to yield, and in September (1845) it was arranged that he should pay a fine of 1,800,000 rupees. He escaped an addition to his contract sum, but he was deprived of some petty district to satisfy in a measure the letter of the original demand.†

* Lieut.-Col. Richmond to Government, 10th Oct. 1844.

† In this paragraph the author has followed mainly his own notes of occurrences. The mutiny of the Mooltan troops took place in Nov. 1844. The Governor at once surrounded them, and demanded the ringleaders, and on their surrender being refused, he opened a fire upon their whole body, and killed, as was said, nearly 400 of them. Deewan Mool Raj seized and confined his brother in Aug. 1845, and in the following month the terms of his succession were settled with the Lahore court.

The proceedings of Peshawura Singh caused more disquietude to the new Vuzeer personally than the hostility of Golab Singh, or the resistance of the Governor of Mooltan. The Prince was vain and of slender capacity, but his relationship to Runjeet Singh gave him some hold upon the minds of the Sikhs. He was encouraged by Golab Singh then safe in the hills, and he was assured of support by the brigade of troops which had made Jowahir Singh a prisoner, when that chief threatened to fly with the Muharaja into the British territories. Jowahir Singh had not heeded the value to the state of the prudence of the soldiers in restraining him; he thought only of the personal indignity, and soon after his accession to power he barbarously mutilated the commander of the offending division, by depriving him of his nose and ears. Peshawura Singh felt himself countenanced, and he endeavoured to rally a party around him at Seealkot, which he held in fief. But the Sikhs were not disposed to thus suddenly admit his pretensions; he was reduced to straits; and in the month of June he fled, and lived at large on the country, until towards the end of July, when he surprised the fort of Attock, proclaimed himself Muharaja, and entered into a correspondence with Dost Mahomed Khan. Sirdar Chutter Singh of Attaree was sent against the pretender, and troops were moved from Dera Ismaeel Khan to aid in reducing him. The Prince was beleaguered in his fort, and became aware of his insignificance; he submitted on the 30th August, and was directed to be removed to Lahore, but he was secretly put to death at the instigation of Jowahir Singh, and through the instrumentality, as understood, of

Futteh Khan Towana, who sought by rendering an important service to further ingratiate himself with that master for the time being who had restored him to favor, and who had appointed him to the management of the upper Derajat of the Indus.*

This last triumph was fatal to Jowahir Singh, and anger was added to the contempt in which he had always been held. He had sometimes displayed both energy and perseverance, but his vigor was the impulse of personal resentment, and it was never characterized by judgment or by superior intelligence. His original design of flying to the English had displeased the Sikhs, and rendered them suspicious of his good faith as a member of the Khalsa ; and no sooner had his revenge been gratified by the expulsion of Heera Singh and Pundit Julla, than he found himself the mere sport and plaything of the army, which had only united with him for the attainment of a common object. The soldiery began to talk of themselves as pre-eminently the " Punt'h Khalsajee," or Congregation of Believers ;† and Jowahir Singh was overawed by the spirit which animated the armed host. In the midst of the successes against Jummoo, he trembled for his fate, and he twice laid plans for escaping to the south of the Sutlej ; but the troops were jealous of such a step on the part of their

* Compare Major Broadfoot to Government, 14th and 26th July and 8th and 18th Sept. 1845.

† Or, as the "Surbut Khalsa," the body of the elect. Major Broadfoot (letter of 2d Feb. 1845) thought this title, which the soldiers arrogated to themselves, was new in correspondence ; but Government pointed out, in reply, that it was an old term, according to the Calcutta records.

nominal master. He felt that he was watched, and he abandoned the hope of escape to seek relief in dissipation, in the levy of Mahometan regiments, and in idle or desperate threats of war with his British allies.* Jowahir Singh was thus despised and distrusted by the Sikhs themselves; their enmity to him was fomented by Lal Singh, who aimed at the post of Vuzeer; and the murder of Peshawura Singh added to the general exasperation, for the act was condemned as insulting to the people, and it was held up to reprobation by the chiefs as one which would compromise their own safety, if allowed to pass with impunity.† The Punchayets of regiments met in council, and they resolved that Jowahir Singh should die as a traitor to the commonwealth, for death is almost the only mode by which tumultuous, half-barbarous governments can remove an obnoxious Minister. He was accordingly required to appear on the 21st September before the assembled Khalsa to answer for his misdeeds. He went, seated upon an elephant; but fearing his fate, he took with him the young Muharaja and a quantity of gold and jewels. On his arrival in front of the troops, he endeavored to gain over some influential deputies and officers by present donatives and by lavish promises, but he was sternly desired to let the Muharaja be removed from his side, and to be himself silent. The boy was placed in a tent near at hand, and a party of soldiers advanced

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* Compare Major Broadfoot to Government, 23d and 28th Feb., 5th April (a demi-official letter), and 15th and 18th Sept 1845.

† Compare Major Broadfoot to Government, 22d Sept. 1845.

and put the Vuzeer to death by a discharge of musketry.* Two other persons, the sycophants of the Minister, were killed at the same time, but no pillage or massacre occurred; the act partook of the solemnity and moderation of a judicial process, ordained and witnessed by a whole people; and the body of Jowahir Singh was allowed to be removed and burnt with the dreadful honors of the Suttee sacrifice, among the last, perhaps, which will take place in India.

For some time after the death of Jowahir Singh, no one seemed willing to become the supreme administrative authority in the state, or to place himself at the head of that self-dependent army, which in a few months had led captive the formidable chief of Jummoo, reduced to submission the powerful Governor of Mooltan, put down the rebellion of one recognized as the brother of the Muharaja, and pronounced and executed judgment on the highest functionary in the kingdom, and which had also without effort contrived to keep the famed Afghans in check at Peshawur and along the frontier. Raja Golab Singh was urged to repair to the capital, but he and all others were overawed, and the Ranee Jindan held herself for a time a regular court, in the absence of a Vuzeer. The army was partly satisfied with this arrangement, for the committees considered that they could keep the provinces obedient, and they reposed confidence in the talents or the integrity of the accountant Deenanath, of the paymaster Bhuggut

* Compare Major Broadfoot to Government, 26th Sept. 1845. It may be added that the Sikhs generally regarded Jowahir Singh as one ready to bring in the English, and as faithless to the Khalsa.

Ram, and of Nooroodddeen, almost as familar as his old and infirm brother Uzeezooddeen with the particulars of the treaties and engagements with the English. The army had formerly required that these three men should be consulted by Jowahir Singh ; but the advantage of a responsible head was, nevertheless, apparent, and as the soldiers were by degrees wrought upon to wage war with their European neighbours, Rajah Lal Singh was nominated Vuzeer, and Sirdar Tej Singh was reconfirmed in his office of Commander-in-Chief. These appointments were made early in November, 1845.*

* In this paragraph the author has followed mainly his own notes of occurrences.

CHAPTER IX.

THE WAR WITH THE ENGLISH.

1845—1846.

Causes leading to a war between the Sikhs and English. — The English being apprehensive of frontier disturbances, adopt defensive measures on a scale opposed to the spirit of the policy of 1809. — The Sikhs being prone to suspicion, consider themselves in danger of invasion — And are further moved by their want of confidence in the English representative. — The Sikhs resolve to anticipate the English, and wage war by crossing the Sutlej. — The tactics of the Sikhs. — The views of the Sikh leaders. — Feerozpoor purposely spared. — The battle of Moodkee. — The battle of P'heerooshuhur, and retreat of the Sikhs. — The effect of these barren victories upon the Indians and the English themselves. — The Sikhs again cross the Sutlej. — The skirmish of Buddowal. — The battle of Aleewal. — Negotiations through Raja Golab Singh. — The battle of Subraon. — The submission of the Sikh Chiefs, and the occupation of Lahore. — The partition of the Punjab. — The treaty with Dhuleep Singh. — The treaty with Golab Singh. — Conclusion, relative to the Position of the English in India.

THE English government had long expected that it would be forced into a war with the overbearing soldiery of the Punjab: the Indian public, which considered only the fact of the progressive aggrandizement

of the strangers, was prepared to hear of the annexation of another kingdom without minutely inquiring or caring about the causes which led to it ; and the more selfish chiefs of the Sikhs had always desired that such a degree of interference should be exercised in the affairs of their country as would guarantee to them the easy enjoyment of their possessions. These wealthy and incapable men stood rebuked before the superior genius of Runjeet Singh, and before the mysterious spirit which animated the people arrayed in arms, and they thus fondly hoped that a change would give them all they could desire ; but it is doubtful whether the Sikh soldiery ever seriously thought, although they often vauntingly boasted, of fighting with the paramount power of Hindostan, until within two or three months of the first battles, and even then the rude and illiterate yeomen considered that they were about to enter upon a war purely defensive.

From the moment the Sikh army became predominant in the state, the English authorities had been persuaded that the machinery of government would be broken up, that bands of plunderers would everywhere arise, and that the duty of a civilized people to society generally, and of a governing power to its own subjects, would all combine to bring on a collision ; and thus measures which seemed sufficient were adopted for strengthening the frontier posts, and for having a force at hand which might prevent aggression, or which would at least exact retribution and vindicate the supremacy of the English name.* These were the fair

* Compare Minute by the Governor-General, of the 16th June,

and moderate objects of the British government; but the Sikhs took a different view of the relative conditions of the two states; they feared the ambition of their colossal neighbor, they did not understand why they should be dreaded when intestine commotions reduced their comparative inferiority still lower; defensive measures took in their eyes the form of aggressive preparations, and they came to the conclusion that their country was to be invaded. Nor does this conviction of the weaker and less intelligent power appear to be unreasonable,—for it is always to be borne in mind that India is far behind Europe in civilization, and that political morality or moderation is as little appreciated in the East in these day as it was in Christendom in the middle ages. Hindostan, moreover, from Caubul to the valley of Assam and the island of Ceylon, is regarded as one country, and dominion in it is associated in the minds of the people with the predominance of one monarch or of one race. The supremacy of Vicrumajeet and Chundragoopta, of the Toorkmuns and Moghuls, is familiar to all. and thus on hearing of further acquisitions by the English, a Hindoo or Mahometan will simply observe that the destiny of the nation is great, or that its cannon is irresistible. A prince may chafe that he loses a province or is rendered tributary; but the public will never accuse the conquerors of unjust aggression, or at least of unrighteous and unprincipled ambition.

To this general persuasion of the Sikhs, in common

1845, and the Governor-General to the Secret Committee, 1st October, 1845. (*Parliamentary Paper*, 1846)

with other Indian nations, that the English were and are ever ready to extend their power, is to be added the particular bearing of the British Government towards the Punjab itself. In 1809, when the apprehensions of a French invasion of the East had subsided, and the resolution of making the Jumna a boundary was still approved, the English Viceroy had said that rather than irritate Runjeet Singh, the detachment of troops which had been advanced to Loodiana might be withdrawn to Kurnal.* It was not indeed thought advisable to carry out the proposition; but up to the period of the Afghan war of 1838, the garrison of Loodiana formed the only body of armed men near the Sikh frontier, excepting the provincial regiment raised at Subathoo for the police of the hills after the Goorkha war. The advanced post on the Sutlej was of little military or political use; but it served as the most conspicuous symbol of the compact with the Sikhs; and they as the inferior power, were always disposed to lean upon old engagements as those which warranted the least degree of intimacy or dictation. In 1835 the petty chiefship of Feerozpoor, seventy miles lower down the Sutlej than Loodiana, was occupied by the English as an escheat due to their protection of all Sikh lordships save that of Lahore. The advantages of the place in a military point of view had been perseveringly extolled, and its proximity to the capital of the Punjab made Runjeet Singh, in his prophetic fear, claim it as a dependency of his own.† In 1838 the Muharaja's

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* Government to Sir David Ochterloney, 30th January, 1809.
† See Chap. VII., and also note,†, p. 262.

apprehensions that the insignificant town would become a cantonment were fully realized ; for twelve thousand men assembled at Feerozpoor to march to Khorassan ; and as it was learnt, before the date fixed for the departure of the army, that the Persians had raised the siege of Heerat, it was determined that a small division should be left behind, until the success of the projected invasion rendered its presence no longer necessary.* But the succeeding warfare in Afghanistan and Sindh gave the new cantonment a character of permanency, and in 1842 the remoteness from support of the two posts on the Sutlej was one of the arguments used for advancing considerable body of troops to Ambala as a reserve, and for placing European regiments in the hills still closer to the Sikh frontier.† The relations of 1809 were nevertheless cherished by the Sikhs, although they may have been little heeded by the English amid the multifarious considerations attendant on their changed position in India.

* This was the understanding at the time, but no document appears to have been drawn up to that effect. It was indeed expected that Shah Shooja would be seated on his throne, and the British army withdrawn, all within a twelvemonth.

† The author cannot refer to any written record of these reasons, but he knows that they were used. When the step in advance was resolved on, it is only to be regretted that the cantonment was not formed at Sirhind, the advantages of which as a military post, with reference to the Punjab as being central to all the principal passages of the Sutlej, Sir David Ochterloney had long before pointed out. (*Sir D. Ochterloney to Government*, 3rd May, 1810) Some delicacy, however, was felt towards the Sikhs of Pulteeala, to whom Sirhind belonged ; although the more important and less defensible step of alarming the Sikhs of Lahore had been taken without heed or hesitation.

It had never been concealed from the Sikh authorities, that the helpless condition of the acknowledged government of the country was held to justify such additions to the troops at Loodiana and Feerozpoor, as would give confidence to the inhabitants of these districts, and ensure the successful defence of the posts themselves against predatory bands.* Nor did the Sikhs deny the right of the English to make what military arrangements they pleased for the security of their territories: but that any danger was to be apprehended from Lahore was not admitted by men conscious of their weakness ; and thus by every process of reasoning employed, the Sikhs still came to the same conclusion that they were threatened. Many circumstances, unheeded or undervalued by the English, gave further strength to this conviction. It had not indeed been made known to the Sikhs that Sir William Macnaghten and others had proposed to dismember their kingdom by bestowing Peshawur on Shah Shooja, when Runjeet Singh's line was held to end with the death of his grandson ; but it would be idle to suppose the Lahore government ignorant of a scheme which was discussed in official correspondence, and doubtless in private society, or of the previous desire of Sir Alexander Burnes to bestow the same tract on Dost Mahommed Khan ; and the Sikh authorities must at least have had a lively remembrance of the English offer of 1843, to march upon their capital, and to disperse their army. Again, in 1844 and 1845, the facts were whispered abroad and treasured

* Compare the Governor-General to the Secret Committee, 2d December, 1845 (*Parl. Papers*, 1846); and also his despatch of the 31st December, 1845. (*Parl. Papers*, p. 28.)

up, that the English were preparing boats at Bombay to make bridges across the Sutlej, that troops in Sindh were being equipped for a march on Mooltan,* and that the various garrisons of the north-west provinces were being gradually reinforced, while some of them were being abundantly supplied with the munitions of war as well as with troops.† None of these things were communicated to the Sikh government, but they were nevertheless believed by all parties, and they were held to denote a campaign, not of defence, but of aggression.‡

The Sikhs thus considered that the fixed policy of the English was territorial aggrandizement, and that

* The collection of the means at Sukkur for the equipment of a force of five thousand men, to march towards Mooltan, was a subject of ordinary official correspondence in 1844-45, as for instance, between the Military Board in Calcutta and the officers of departments under its control.

† The details of the preparations made by Lords Ellenborough and Hardinge, may be seen in an article on the administration of the latter nobleman, in the *Calcutta Review*, which is understood to be the production of Lieutenant-Colonel Lawrence.

Up to 1838, the troops on the frontier amounted to on regiment at Subathoo, and two at Loodiana, with six pieces of artillery, equalling in all little more than 2,500 men. Lord Auckland made the total about 8,000, by increasing Loodiana and creating Feerozpoor. Lord Ellenborough formed further new stations at Ambala, Kussowlee, and Simlah, and placed in all about 14,000 men and 48 field guns on the frontier. Lord Hardinge increased the aggregate force to about 32,000 men, with 68 field guns, besides having 10,000 men with artillery at Meerut. After 1843, however the station of Kurnal, on the Jumna, was abandoned, which in 1838 and preceding years may have mustered about 4,000 men.

‡ Compare the Governor-General to the Secret Committee, December 2. 1845.

the immediate object of their ambition was the conquest of Lahore. This persuasion of the people was brought home to them by the acts of the British representative for the time, and by the opinion which they had preformed of his views. Mr. Clerk became Lieutenant-Governor of Agra in June 1843, and he was succeeded as Agent for the affairs of the Sikhs by Lieutenant-Colonel Richmond, whose place again was taken by Major Broadfoot, a man of undoubted energy and ability, in November of the following year. In India the views of the British Government are, by custom, made known to allies and dependants through one channel only, namely, that of an accredited English officer. The personal character of such a functionary gives a color to all he does and says ; the policy of the government is indeed judged of by the bearing of its representative, and it is certain that the Sikh authorities did not derive any assurance of an increasing desire for peace, from the nomination of an officer who, thirty months before, had made so stormy a passage through their country.

One of Major Broadfoot's first acts was to declare the Cis-Sutlej possessions of Lahore to be under British protection equally with Putteeala and other chiefships, and also to be liable to escheat on the death or deposition of Muharaja Dhuleep Singh.* This view was not formally announced to the Sikh government, but it was

* Major Broadfoot (*Letters to Government of the 7th December*, 1844, 30*th January*, and 28*th February*, 1845) may be referred to as explanatory of his views. In the last letter he distinctly says that if the young Muharaja Dhuleep Singh, who was then ill of the small-pox, should die, he would direct the reports regarding

notorious, and Major Broadfoot acted on it when he proceeded to interfere authoritatively, and by a display of force, in the affairs of the priest-like Sodhees

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the Cis-Sutlej districts to be made to himself (through the Lahore vukeel or agent indeed), and not to any one in the Punjab.

Major Broadfoot is understood to have quoted to the Sikhs a letter of Sir David Ochterloney's, dated the the 7th May, 1809, to Mohkum Chund, Runjeet Singh's representative, to the effect that the Cis-Sutlej Lahore states were equally under British protection with other states ; and also an order of April, 1824, from Runjeet Singh, requiring his authorities south of the Sutlej to obey the English agent, on pain of having their noses slit. It is not improbable that Sir David Ochterloney may at the early date quoted, have so understood the nature of the British connection with reference to some particular case then before him, but that to the Cis-Sutlej states of Lahore were held uuder feudal obligations to the English, seems scarcely tenable, for the following reasons :—1. The protection extended by the English to the chiefs of Sirhind was declared to mean protection to *them* against Runjeet Singh, and therefore not protection of the *whole* country betweeu the Sutlej and Jumna, a portion of which belonged to Lahore. (See the Treaty of 1809, and Article I. of the Declaration of the 3d May 1809 ; and also Government to Sir D. Ochterloney, 10th April, 1809) Further, when convenient, the British Government could even maintain, that although the treaty of 1809 was binding on Runjeet Singh, with reference to Cis-Sutlej states, it was not binding on the English, whom it simply authorised to interfere at their discretion. (Government to Captain Wade, 23d April, 1833) This was indeed written with reference to Buhawulpoor, but the application, was made general. 2. The protection accorded to the chiefs of Sirhind, was afterwards extended so as to give them security in the plains, but not on the hills, against the Goorkhas as well as against Runjeet Singh (Government to Sir D. Ochterloney, 23d January, 1810); while with regard to Runjeet Singh's own Cis-Sutlej possessions, it was declared that he must himself defend them (against Nepal),

of Anundpoor Makhowal, a fief to which some years before it had been declared to be expedient to waive all claim, especially as Runjeet Singh could best deal with the privileged proprietors.* Again, a troop of horse had crossed the Sutlej near Feerozpoor, to proceed to Kotkupoora, a Lahore town, to relieve or strengthen the mounted police ordinarily stationed there; but the party had crossed without the previous sanction of the British agent having been obtained, agreeably to an understanding between the two governments, based on an article of the treaty of 1809, but which modified arrangement was scarcely applicable to so small a body of men proceeding for such a purpose. Major Broadfoot nevertheless required the horsemen to recross; and as he considered them dilatory in their obedience, he followed them with his escort, and overtook them as they were about to ford the river. A shot was fired by the English party, and the extreme desire of the Sikh commandant to avoid doing anything which might be held to compromise his government, alone prevented a collision.† Further, the bridge-boats which had been

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leaving it a question of policy as to whether he should or should not be aided in their defence. It was further added, that he might march through his Cis-Sutlej districts, to enable him to attack the Goorkhas in the hills near the Jumna, in defence of the districts in question, should be so wish. (Government to Sir David Ochterlony, 4th October, and 22nd November, 1811)

* With regard to Anundpoor, see Chap. VII., with note ,* p. 262. About the particular dispute noticed in the text, Major Broadfoot's letter to Government of the 13th September, 1845, may be refered to. It labors in a halting way to justify his proceedings and his asumption of jurisdiction under ordinary circumstances.

† Compare Major Broadfoot to Government, 27th March, 1845.

prepared at Bombay, were despatched towards Feerozpoor in the autumn of 1145, and Major Broadfoot almost avowed that hostilities had broken out when he manifested an apprehension of danger to these armed vessels, by ordering strong guards of soldiers to escort them safely to their destination, and when he began to exercise their crews in the formation of bridges after their arrival at Feerozpoor. *

The views held by Major Broadfoot, and virtually adopted by the supreme government, with respect to the Cis-Sutlej districts, and also the measures followed in particular instances, may all be defended to a certain extent, as they indeed were, on specious grounds, as on the vague declarations of Sir David Ochterloney or on the deferential injunctions of Runjeet Singh.† It is even believed that if the cession of the tracts in question had been desired, their relinquishment might have been effected without a resort to arms; but every act of Major Broadfoot was considered to denote a foregone resolution, and to be conceived in a spirit of enmity rather than of good will.‡ Nor did the Sikhs seem to

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It is understood that the Covernment disapproved of these proceedings.

* A detachment of troops under a European officer was required to be sent with each batch of boats, owing to the state of the Punjab. Nevertheless small iron steamers were allowed to navigate the Sutlej at the time without guards, and one lay under the guns of Filor for several days, without meeting aught except civility on the part of the Sikhs.

† See note *, p. 259.

‡ It was generally held by the English in India that Major Broadfoot's appointment greatly increased the probabilities of a war with the Sikhs; and the impression was equally strong, that

be menaced by their allies on one side only. In the summer of 1845 some horsemen from Mooltan crossed a few miles into the Sindh territory in pursuit of certain marauders. The boundary of the two provinces between the Indus and the hills is no where defined, and the object of the few troopers was evident; but the Governor, Sir Charles Napier, immediately ordered the wing of a regiment to Kushmor, a few miles below Rojhan, to preserve the integrity of his frontier from violation. The Lahore authorities were indeed put upon their guard, but they did not admit the sufficiency of the reasons given, and they looked upon the prompt measures of the conqueror of Sindh as one more proof of the desire to being about a war with the Punjab.*

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had Mr. Clerk, for instance, remained as Agent, there would have been no war. That Major Broadfoot was regarded as hostile to the Sikhs, may perhaps almost be gathered from his own letters. On the 19th March, 1845, he wrote that the Governor of Mooltan had asked what course he, the governor, should pursue, if the Lahore troops marched against him, to enforce obedience to demands made. The question does not seem one which a recusant servant would put under ordinary circumstances to the preserver of friendship between his master and the English. Major Broadfoot, however, would appear to have recurred to the virtual overtures of Deewan Mool Raj, for on the 20th November, 1845, when he wrote the to authorities in any way connected with the Punjab, that the British provinces were threatened with invasion, he told Sir Charles Napier, the complete soldier, armed at all points, that the Governor of Mooltan would defend *Sindh* with *his* provincials against the Sikhs !—thus leading to the belief that he had succeeded in detaching the Governor from his allegiance to Lahore.

* It is known that Sir Charles Napier was anxious to station a considerable body of men at Kushmor; and that the supreme

The Sikh army, and the population generally, were convinced that war was inevitable ; but the better informed members of the Government knew that no interference was likely to be exercised without an overt act of hostility on their part.* When moved as much by jealousy of one another as by a common dread of the army, the chiefs of the Punjab had clung to wealth and ease rather than to honor and independence, and thus Muharaja Sher Singh, the Sindhamvalus, and others, had been ready to become tributary, and to lean for support upon foreigners. As the authority of the army began to predominate, and to derive force from its system of committees, a new danger threatened the territorial chiefs and the adventurers in the employ of the Government. They might successively fall before the

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Government countermanded the march of a detachment of European troops to that place. Some reference may also be made to an unguarded speech of Sir Charles Napier's at the time, about the British being called on to move into the Punjab (compare *Major Smyth's Reigning Family of Lahore. Introd.* xxii.),—especially as Majore Broadfoot considered the Sikh leaders, to be moved in a greater degree by the Indian newspapers, than is implied in a passing attention to reiterated paragraphs about invasion. He thought, for instance, that Pundit Julla understood the extent to which the Government deferred to public opinion, and that the Brahmin himself designed to make use of the press as an instrument. (Major Broadfoot to Government, 30th January, 1845)

* Compare Inclosure, No. 6. of the Governor-General's Letter to the Secret Committee of the 2d December, 1845 *(Parl. Papers, Feb.* 26. 1846, p. 21) Major Broadfoot, however, states of Golab Singh, what was doubtless true of many others, viz. that he believed the English had designs on the Punjab. (Major Broadfoo to Government, 5th May, 1845.)

cupidity of the organized body which none could control, or an able leader might arise who would absorb the power of all others, and gratify his followers by the sacrifice of the rich, the selfish, and the feeble. Even the Raja of Jummoo, always so reasonably averse to a close connection with the English, began to despair of safety as a feudatory in the hills, or of authority as a Minister at Lahore without the aid of the British name and Lal Singh, Tej Singh, and many others, all equally felt their incapacity to control the troops. These men considered that their only chance of retaining power was to have the army removed by inducing it to engage in a contest which they believed would end in its dispersion, and pave the way for their recognition as Ministers more surely than if they did their duty by the people, and earnestly deprecated a war which must destory the independence of the Punjab.* Had the shrewd committees of the armies observed no military preparations on the part of the English, they would not have

* Compare Inclosures to the Governor-General's letter to the Secret Committee of the 31st December, 1845. *Parl. paper. 26th Feb.* 1846, p. 29.) It has not been thought necessary to refer to the intemperance of the desperate Jowahir Singh, or to the amours of the Muharanee, which, in the papers laid before the British Parliament, have been used to heighten the folly and worthlessness of the Lahore court. Jowahir Singh may have sometimes been seen intoxicated, and the Muharanee may have attempted little concealment of her debaucheries, but decency was seldom violated in public; and the essential forms of a court were reserved to the last, especially when strangers were present. The private life of Princes may be scandalous enough, while the moral tone of the people is high, and is, moreover, applauded and upheld by the transgressors themselves, in their capacity of Magistrates. Hence the domestic vices of the powerful have, comparatively,

heeded the insidious exhortations of such mercenary men as Lal Singh and Tej Singh, although in former days they would have marched uninquiringly towards Delhi at the bidding of their great Muharaja. But the views of the Government functionaries coincided with the belief of the impulsive soldiery; and when the men were tauntingly asked whether they would quietly look on while the limits of the Khalsa dominion were being reduced, and the plains of Lahore occupied by the remote strangers of Europe, they answered that they would defend with their lives all belonging to the commonwealth of Govind, and that they would march and give battle to the invaders on their own ground.* At the time in question, or early in November, two Sikh villages near Loodiana were placed under sequestration

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little influence on public affairs. Further, the proneness of newsmongers to enlarge upon such personal failings is sufficiently notorious; and the diplomatic service of India has been often reproached for dwelling pruriently or maliciously on such matters. Finally, it is well known that the native servants of the English in Hindostan, who in too many instances are hirelings of little education or respectability, think they best please their employers, or chime in with their notions, when they traduce all others, and especially those with whom there may be a rivalry or a collision. So inveterate is the habit of flattery, and so strong is the belief that Englishmen love to be themselves praised and to hear others slighted, that even petty local authorities scarcely refer to allied or dependent Princes, their neighbors, in verbal or in written reports, without using some terms of disparagement towards them. Hence the scenes of debauchery described by the Lahore news writer are partly due to his professional character, and partly to his belief that he was saying what the English wanted to hear.

* The ordinary private correspondence of the period contained many statements of the kind given in the text.

on the plea that criminals concealed in them had not been surrendered.* The measure was an unusual one, even when the Sikhs and the English were equally at their ease with regard to one another; and the circumstance, added to the rapid approach of the Governor-General to the frontier, removed any doubts which may have lingered in the minds of the Punchayets. The men would assemble in groups and talk of the great battle they must soon wage, and they would meet round the tomb of Runjeet Singh and vow fidelity to the Khalsa.† Thus wrought upon, war with the English was virtually declared on the 17th November; a few days afterwards the troops began to move in detachments from Lahore; they commenced crossing the Sutlej between Hurreekee and Kussoor on the 11th December, and on the 14th of that month a portion of the army took up a position within a few miles of Feerozpoor.‡

The initiative was thus taken by the Sikhs; but considering the English to have been sincerely desirous of living at peace with the Punjab, the policy adopted by them does not show that strict adherence to formal engagements, and that high wisdom and sure foresight which should distinguish the counsels of an intelligent power, acquainted with actual life, and with the examples of history. Reference was only had to the probability of Sikh inroads, of a weak neighbor running

* Major Broadfoot's *official* correspondence seems to have ceased after the 21st November, 1845: and there is no report on this affair among his recorded letters.

† The Lahore news-letter of the 24th November, 1845, prepared for Covernment.

‡ Compare the Governor-General to the Secret Committee, 2d and 31st December, 1845, with inclosures. (*Parl. Papers*, 1846)

upon certain destruction, and little heed was given to the original arrangement, which left the province of Sirhind almost free of troops and of English subjects, and which placed a confederacy of dependent states between themselves and Lahore to soften the mutual action of a half barbarous military dominion, and of a humane and civilized Government. The sincerity of the English rulers is not to be doubted, but their honesty can only be admitted at the expense of their judgment and knowledge of mankind.

The same defective apprehension which saw no mark of hostility in collecting boats for bridges across a boundary river, and which paid no regard to the effect on a rude people, with more to fear than to hope, of displaying an army with no road before it except that to Lahore, also led the confident English to persevere in despising or misunderstanding the spirit of the disciples of Govind to an extent which almost proved fatal to the continuity of their triumphs. In 1842 the Sikhs were held, as has been mentioned, to be unequal to cope with the Afghans, and even to be inferior in martial qualities to the population of the Jummoo hills.* In 1845 the Lahore soldiery was called a "rabble" in sober official despatches, and although subsequent descriptions allowed the regiments to be composed of the yeomanry of the country, the army was still declared to be daily deteriorating as a military body.† It is, indeed, certain

* See note *, p. 272

† Major Broadfoot to Government, 18th and 25th January, 1845. A year before, Lieutenant-Colonel Lawrence (*Calcutta Review*, No. III. p. 176, 170) considered the Sikh army as good as that of any other Indian power, and not inferior, indeed, t

that English officers and Indian Sepoys equally believed they were about to win battles by marching steadily and by the discharge of a few artillery shots, rather than by skilful dispositions, hard fighting, and a prolonged contest.*

The English not only undervalued their enemy, but they likewise mistook the form which the long-expected aggressions of the Sikhs would assume. It was not thought that the ministry, or even that the army would have the courage to cross the river in force, and to court an equal contest ; the known treasonable views of the chiefs, and the unity and depth of feeling which possessed the troops, were equally disregarded, and it continued to be believed that a desultory warfare would sooner or later ensue, which would require the British to interfere, but which would still enable them to do so at their own covenience.† Thus boats for bridges

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the Gwalior troops which fought at Muharajpoor. The Lahore artillery, however, he held to be very bad, although he was of opinion that in position the guns would be well served. In his *Adventurer in the Punjab* (p. 47, note *k.*), he had previously given a decided preference to the Mahratta artillery.

* Major Smyth is, however, of opinion that the Sepoys in the British service had a high opinion of the Sikh troops, although the English themselves talked of them as boasters and cowards. (Major Smyth's *Reigning Family of Lahore*, *Introduction*, xxiv. and xxv.) Compare Dr. Macgregor, *Hist. of the Sikhs*, ii. 89, 90.

† Compare the Governor-General to the Secret Committee, 31st December, 1845 (*Parl. Papers*, 1846), and the *Calcutta Review*, No. XVI. p. 475. A few words may here be said on a subject which occasioned some discussion in India at the time, viz. Major Broadfoot's reputed persevering disbelief that the Sikhs would cross the Sutlej, although his assistant, Captain Nicolson, stationed at Feerozpoor, had repeatedly said they would. The

and regiments and guns, the provocatives to a war, were sufficiently numerous; but food and ammunition, and carriage and hospital stores, such as were necessary for a campaign, were all behind at Delhi or Agra, or still remained to be collected.*

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matter was taken up by the Indian public as if Captain Nicolson had for several months, or for a year and more, held that the British provinces would assuredly be invaded within a definite period; whereas, with regard to what the Sikh army might eventually do, Captain Nicolson was as uncertain as others, up to within a week or so of the passage of the Sutlej in December, 1845. The truth seems to be, that Major Broadfoot affected to disbelieve Captain Nicolson's report of the actual march and near approach of the Lahore army, of its encampment on the Sutlej, and of its evident resolution to cross the river, giving the preference to intelligence of a contrary nature received direct from the Sikh capital, and which tallied with his own views of what the Sikhs would finally do. That such was the case, may indeed be gathered from the Governor-General's despatch to the Secret Committee of the 31st December, 1845 (*Paerl. Papers*, 1846, p. 26, 27)

The writer of the article in the *Calcutta Review*, No. XVI., endeavours to justify Major Broadfoot's views, by showing that all the officers on the frontier held similar opinions. The point really at issue, however, is not whether, generally speaking, invasion were probable, but whether in the beginning of December, 1845 Major Broadfoot should not have held that the Sutlej would be crossed. The Reviewer forgets to add that of the local officers, Major Broadfoot alone knew at the time the extent of provocation which the Sikhs had received; and that the officers wrote with no later news before them than that of the 17th November. Hence all save Major Broadfoot himself had very imperfect means of forming a judgment of what was likely to take place. With regard to what the English should have been prepared against, Lieutenant-Colonel Richmond's letter of the 3d April, 1844, to the address of the Commander-in-Chief may be referred to, as in favor of having stations strong if they were to be kept up at all.

* It was a common and a just remark at the time, that

The Governor-General joined the Commander-in-Chief at Ambala early in December, 1845, and as soon as it seemed certain that the Sikhs were marching in force towards the Sutlej, the English troops in the upper provinces were all put in motion. The nearest divisions were those of Ambala, Loodiana and Feerozpoor, which numbered in all about 17,000 available men, with 69 field guns; and as the last-mentioned force was the most exposed, the Ambala troops were moved straight to its support, and Lord Hardinge further prudently resolved to leave Loodiana with a mere garrison for its petty fort, and to give Lord Gough as large a force as possible, with which to meet the Sikhs, should they cross the Sutlej as they threatened.*

The Lahore army of invasion may have equalled thirty-five or forty thousand men, with a hundred and fifty pieces of artillery, exclusive of a force detached towards Loodiana to act as circumstances might render advantageous. The numbers of the Sikhs were understood at the time to greatly exceed those given, but the strength of armies is usually exaggerated both by the victors and the vanquished; and there is no satisfactory proof that the regular troops of the Sikhs exceeded

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although the Indian Government was fortunate in having a practical and approved soldier like Lord Hardinge at its head, under the circumstances of a war in progress, yet that had Lord Ellenborough remained Governor-General the army would have taken the field better equipped than it did.

* The effective force at Pheerooshuhur was 17,727 men, according to the *Calcutta Review* (No. XVI. p. 472), and 16,700 according to Lord Hardinge's Despatch of the 31st of December 1845. This was the available force, out of 32,479 men in all, posted from Ambala to the Sutlej.

those of the English by more than a half, although numerous bodies of undisciplined horse swelled the army of the invaders to more than double that of their opponents.*

The Sikh leaders threatened Feerozpoor, but no attack was made upon its seven thousand defenders, which with a proper spirit were led out by their commander, Sir John Littler, and showed a bold front to the overwhelming force of the enemy. The object, indeed, of Lal Singh and Tej Singh was not to compromise themselves with the English by destroying an isolated division, but to get their own troops dispersed by the converging forces of their opponents. Their desire was to be upheld as the Ministers of a dependent kingdom by grateful conquerors, and they thus deprecated an attack on Feerozpoor, and assured the local British authorities of their secret and efficient good will. But these men had also to keep up an appearance of devotion to the interests of their country, and they urged the necessity of leaving the easy prey of a cantonment untouched, until the leaders of the English should be attacked, and the fame of the Khalsa exalted by the captivity or death of a Governor-General.† The

* The Governor-General in his Despatch of the 31st of December, 1845, estimates the Sikhs at from 48,000 to 60,000 men ; but with regard to efficient troops, it may be observed that the whole regular army of the country did not exceed 42,000 infantry, including the regiments at Lahore, Mooltan, Peshawur, and Cashmeer, as well as those forming the main army of invasion. Perhaps an estimate of 30,000 *embodied* troops of all kinds would be nearer the truth than any other.

† It was sufficiently certain and notorious at the time that Lal Singh was in communication with Captain Nicolson, the British

Sikh army itself understood the necessity of unity of counsel in the affairs of war, and the power of the regimental and other committees was temporarily suspended by an agreement with the executive heads of the State, which enabled these unworthy men to effect their base objects with comparative ease.* Nevertheless, in the ordinary military arrangements of occupying positions and distributing infantry and cavalry, the generals and inferior commanders acted for themselves and all had to pay some respect to the spirit which animated the private soldiers in their readiness to do battle for the commonwealth of Govind. The effects of the enthusiastic unity of purpose in an army, headed by men not only ignorant of warfare, but studiously treacherous towards their followers, was conspicuously visible in the speediness with which numerous heavy guns and abundance of grain and ammunition were brought across a large river. Every Sikh considered the cause as his own, and he would work as a laborer as well as carry a musket; he would drag guns, drive bullocks, lead camels, and load and unload boats with a cheerful alacrity, which contrasted strongly with the inapt and sluggish obedience of mere mercenaries, drilled, indeed, and fed with skill and care, but unwarmed by one generous feeling for their country or

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Agent at Feerozpoor, but owing to the untimely death of that officer, the details of the overtures made, and expectations held out, cannot now be satisfactorily known.—Compare Dr. Macgregor's *History of the Sikhs*, ii. 80.

* Lal Singh was appointed Vuzeer, and Tej Singh Commander-in-chief of the army, on or about the 8th November, 1845, according to the *Lahore News-Letter* of that date, prepared for government.

their foreign employers. The youthful Khalsa was active and strong of heart, but the soldiers had never before met so great a foe, and their tactics were modified by involuntary awe of the British army, renowned in the East for achievements in war. The river had been crossed, and the treaty broken; but the Sikhs were startled at their own audacity, and they partially intrenched one portion of their forces, while they timorously kept the other as a reserve out of danger's way. Thus the valiant Swedes, when they threw themselves into Germany under their King, the great Gustavus, revived the castrametation of Roman armies in the presence of the experienced Commanders of Austria;* and thus the young Telemachus, tremulously bold, hurled his unaccustomed spear against the Princes of Ithaca, and sprang for shelter behind the shield of his heroic father! †

The Ambala and the Loodiana divisions of British army arrived at Moodkee, twenty miles from Feerozpoor, on the 18th December; and they had scarcely

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* As at Werben, before the battle of Leipsic. Colonel Mitchell says Gustavus owed his success almost as much to the spade as to the sword.—*Life of Wallenstein*, p. 210.

† *Odyssey*, xxii. The practice of the Sikhs would probably have resolved itself into the system of fortified camps of the Romans at night and during halts, and into the Greek custom of impenetrable phalanxes on the battle-field, while it almost anticipates the European tendencies of the day about future warfare —which are, to mass artillery, and make it overwhelming. The Sikhs would have moved with their infantry and guns together, while they swept the country with their cavalry; and it is clear that no troops in India or in Southern Asia, save the moveable brigades of the English, could have successfully assailed them.

taken up their ground before they were attacked by a detachment of the Sikh army, believed at the time to be upwards of thirty thousand strong, but which really seems to have consisted of less than two thousand infantry, supported by about twenty-two pieces of artillery, and eight or ten thousand horsemen.* Lal Singh headed the attack, but, in accordance with his original design, he involved his followers in an engagement, and then left them to fight as their undirected valor might prompt. The Sikhs were repulsed with the loss of seventeen guns, † but the success of the English was not so complete as should have been achieved by the victors in so many battles ; and it was wisely determined to effect a junction with the division of Sir John Littler before assailing the advanced wing of the Sikh army, which was encamped in a deep horse-shoe form around the village of P'heerooshuhur, about ten miles both from Moodkee and from Feerozpoor.‡ This position was

* See Lord Gough's despatch of the 19th December, 1845, for the estimate of 30,000 men, with 40 guns. Captain Nicolson, in his private corespondence of the period, and writing from Feerozpoor, gives the Sikh force at about 3,500 only, which is doubtless too low, although subsequent inquiries all tended to show that the infantry portion was weak, having been composed of small detachments from each of the regiments in position at P'heeroosuhur. The *Calcutta Review*, No. XVI., p. 489, estimates the guns at 22 only, and the estimate, being moderate, it is probably correct.

† The British loss in the action was 215 killed, and 657 wounded. (See Lord Gough's Despatch of the 19th December, 1845.) The force under Lord Gough at the time amounted to about 11,000 men.

‡ The correct name of the place, which has become identified with an important battle, is as given in the text ;—" P'heeroo " being the not uncommon name of a man, and " Shuhur " an

strengthened by more than a hundred pieces of artillery, and its slight and imperfect intrenchments had, here and there, been raised almost waist high since the action at Moodkee. It was believed at the time to contain about fifty thousand men, but subsequent inquiries reduced the infantry to twelve regiments, and the cavalry to the eight or ten thousand which had before been engaged. The wing of the Sikh army attacked did not, therefore, greatly surpass its assailants, except in the number and size of its guns, the English artillery consisting almost wholly of six and nine pounders.* But the belief in the fortune of the British arms was strong, and the Sepoys would then have marched with alacrity against ten times their own numbers.

A junction was effected with Sir John Littler's division about midday on the 21st December, and at a distance of four miles from the enemy's position. Considerable delay occurred in arranging the details of the assault, which was not commenced until within an hour of sunset. The confident English had at last got the

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ordinary termination, signifying place or city. The name "Feerozshah" is erroneous, but it is one likely to be taken up on hearing P'heerooshuhur badly pronouuced by peasants and others.

* Both the Sikhs and the European officers in the Lahore service agree in saying that there were only twelve battalions in the lines of P'heerooshuhur, and such indeed seems to have been the truth. The Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief vaguely estimated the whole Sikh army on the left bank of the Sutlej at 60,000 strong, and Lord Gough makes Tej Singh bring 30,000 horse *besides* fresh battalions, and a large park of artillery into action on the 22nd December, which would leave but a small remainder for the previous defence of P'heerooshuhur. — See the Despatches f the 22d and 31st December, 1845.

field they wanted; they marched in even array, and their famed artillery opened its steady fire. But the guns of the Sikhs were served with rapidity and precision, and the foot-soldiers stood between and behind the batteries, firm in their order, and active with their muskets. The resistance met was wholly unexpected, and all started with astonishment. Guns were dismounted, and their ammunition was blown into the air; squadrons were checked in mid career; battalion after battalion was hurled back with shattered ranks, and it was not until after sunset that portions of the enemy's position were finally carried. Darkness, and the obstinacy of the contest, threw the English into confusion; men of all regiments and arms were mixed together; generals were doubtful of the fact or of the extent of their own success, and colonels knew not what had become of the regiment they commanded, or of the army of which they formed a part. Some portions of the enemy's line had not been broken, and the uncaptured guns were turned by the Sikhs upon masses of soldiers, oppressed with cold and thirst and fatigue, and who attracted the attention of the watchful enemy by lighting fires of brushwood to warm their stiffened limbs. The position of the English was one of real danger and great perplexity; their mercenaries had proved themselves good soldiers in foreign countries as well as in India itself, when discipline was little known, or while success was continuous; but in a few hours the five thousand children of a distant land found that their art had been learnt, and that an emergency had arisen which would tax their energies to the utmost. On that memorable night the English were hardly

masters of the ground on which they stood; they had no reserve at hand, while the enemy had fallen back upon a second army, and could renew the fight with increased numbers. The not imprudent thought occurred of retiring upon Feerozpoor; but Lord Gough's dauntless spirit counselled otherwise, and his own and Lord Hardinge's personal intrepidity in storming batteries, at the head of troops of English gentlemen and bands of hardy yeomen, eventually achieved a partial success and a temporary repose. On the morning of the 22d December, the last remnants of the Sikhs were driven from their camp; but as the day advanced the second wing of their army approached in battle-array, and the wearied and famished English saw before them a desperate and, perhaps, useless struggle. This reserve was commanded by Tej Singh; he had been urged by his zealous and sincere soldiery to fall upon the English at day-break, but *his* object was to have the dreaded army of the Khalsa overcome and dispersed, and he delayed until Lal Singh's force was everywhere put to flight, and until his opponents had again ranged themselves round their colors. Even at the last moment he rather skirmished and made feints than led his men to a resolute attack, and after a time he precipitately fled, leaving his subordinates without orders and without an object at a moment when the artillery ammunition of the English had failed, when a portion of their force was retiring upon Feerozpoor, and when no exertions could have saved the remainder if the Sikhs had boldly pressed forward.*

* For the battle of P'heerooshuhur, see Lord Gough's Despatch of the 22d, and Lord Hardinge's of the 31st December 1845. The

A battle had thus been won, and more than seventy pieces of artillery, and some conquered or confiscated territories, graced the success; but the victors had lost a seventh of their numbers, they were paralyzed after their prodigious exertions and intense excitement and the Sikhs were allowed to cross the Sutlej at their leisure to prepare for fresh contests. The Sepoy mercenaries had for the first time met an equal antagonist with their own weapons—even ranks and the fire of artillery. They loudly complained of the inferiority of their cannon: they magnified banks two and three feet

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Governor-General notices in especial the exertions of the infantry soldiers. The loss sustained was 694 killed, and 1721 wounded.

The statements of the *Quartely Review* for June, 1845, pp. 203-206, and of the *Calcutta Review* for December, 1847, p. 498 may be referred to about certain points still but imperfectly known, and which it is only necessary to allude to in a general way in this history. Two of the points are: 1st, the proposal to fall back on Feerozpoor during the night of the 21st December; and 2d. the actual movement of a considerable portion of the British army towards that place on the forenoon of the following day.

Had the Sikhs been efficiently commanded, a retirement on Feerozpoor would have boen judicious in a military point of view, but as the enemy was led by traitors it was best to fearlessly keep the field. Perhaps neither the incapacity nor the treason of Lal Singh and Tej Singh were fully perceived or credited by the English chiefs, and hence the anxiety of the one on whom the maintenance of the British dominion intact mainly depended.

At P'heerooshuhur the larger calibre and greater weight of metal of the mass of the Sikh artillery, and consequently the superiority of practice relatively to that of the field guns of the English, was markedly apparent in the condition of the two parks after the battle. The captured cannon showed scarcely any marks of round shot or shells, while nearly a third of the British guns were disabled in their carriages or tumbrils.

high into formidable ramparts, and exploding tumbrils and stores of powder became, in their imaginations, designed and deadly mines. Nor was this feeling of respect and exaggeration confined to the Indians alone; the European soldiers partook of it; and the British public, as well as the dignitaries of the Church and the heads of the State, became impressed with the immensity of the danger which had threatened the peace, and perhaps the safety, of their exotic dominion.* Regiments of men, and numerous single officers variously employed, were summoned from the most distant provinces to aid in vindicating the military renown of the English race, and the political supremacy of three generations. All longed for retribution, and all were cheered amid their difficulties by the genial temper and lofty bearing of one chief; and by the systematic industry and full knowledge of military requirements possessed by the other. But joy and gratitude were yet uppermost for the moment; the hope of revenge was disturbed by the remembrance of danger; and, unmindful of the rebuke of the wise Ulysses, a partial Divinity was praised by proclamation, for the deliverance *he* had vouchsafed to *his* votaries.

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* The alarm of the English about the occupation of Delhi and the passage of the Jumna may be likened to the nervous dread of Augustus, when he heard of the defeat of Varus and the destruction of his legions; and that one so astute, and so familiar with the sources of Roman power and the causes of Roman weakness, should have feared the consequences of a German invasion of Italy, at once palliates the apprehensions of the English in India and shows upon what slight foundations and undreamt of chances the mightiest fabrics of dominion sometimes rest.

"Unholy is the voice
Of loud thanksgiving over slaughtered men."*

The British army was gradually reinforced, and it took up a position stretching from Feerozpoor towards Hureekee, and parallel to that held by the Sikhs on the right bank of the Sutlej. But the want of ammunition and heavy guns reduced the English to inactivity, and delay produced negligence on their part and emboldened the enemy to fresh acts of daring. The Cis-Sutlej feudatories kept aloof from their new masters, or they excited disturbances; and the Raja of Ladwa,

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* *Odyssey*, xxii. The Governor-General's notification of the 25th December, 1845, calls upon the troops to render acknowledgment to God, and the ecclesiastical authorities in Calcutta subsequently circulated a form of thanksgiving. The anxiety of the Governor-General may be further inferred from his proclamation, encouraging desertion from the Sikh ranks, with the assurance of present rewards and future pensions, *and the immediate decision of any lawsuits in which the deserters might be engaged in the British provinces* !

The feeling which prompted the troops of Cromwell or Gustavus to kneel and return thanks to God on the field of victory, must ever be admired and honored; for it was genuine, and pervaded all ranks, from the leader downwards, and it would equally have moved the soldiers to reproaches and humiliation had they been beaten. But such tokens of reverence and abasement come coldly and without a vital meaning in the guise of a "general order" or "circular memorandum;" and perhaps a civilized and intelligent Government might with advantage refrain from such tame and passionless assurances of devotion and gratitude, while it gave more attention to religious exercises in its regimental regulation. God should rather be kept ever present to the minds of the armed servants of the State by daily worship and instruction, than ostentatiously lauded on the rare occasion of a victory.

a petty Prince dependent on the English, but who had been denounced as a traitor for a year past,* openly proceeded from the neighborhood of Kurnal, and joined the division of the Sikh army under Runjor Singh, which had crossed the Jalundhur Dooab, to the neighborhood of Loodiana. The important town had been denuded of its troops to swell the first army of defence, and it was but slowly and partially garrisoned by fresh regiments arriving from the eastward, although it covered the several lines of approach from the Jumna towards Feerozpoor.† Early in January the Raja of Ladwa returned to withdraw his family from his fief of Buddowal

* Major Broadfoot to government, 13th December, 1844. This chief received the title of Raja from Lord Auckland, partly as a compliment to Runjeet Singh, to whom he was related, and partly in approbation of his liberality in providing the means of throwing a bridge across the classical Sursootee, at Thanehsir. He was a reckless, dissipated man, of moderate capacity; but he inherited the unsettled disposition of his father, Goordut Singh, who once held Kurnal and some villages to the east of the Jumna, and who caused the English some trouble between 1803 and 1809.

† It is not clear why Loodiana was not adequately garrisoned, or rather covered, by the troops which marched from Meerut after the battle of P'heerooshuhur. The Governor-General's attention was indeed chiefly given to strengthening the main army in its unsupported position of Feerozpoor,—the real military disadvantage of which he had ample reason to deplore; while amidst his difficulties it may possibly have occurred to his lordship, that the original policy of 1809—of being strong on the Jumna rather than on the Sutlej—was a truly wise one with reference to the *avoidance* of a war with the Sikhs.

The desire of being in force near the capitals of the Punjab and the main army of the Sikhs, likewise induced Lord Hardinge to direct Sir Charles Napier to march from Sindh, without heeding Mooltan, although, as his Lordship publicly acknowledged, that

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near Loodiana, and he took the opportunity of burning a portion of the cantonment at the latter place, which the paucity of infantry and the want of cavalry on the spot enabled him to do with impunity. About the same time, the main army of the Sikhs, observing the supineness of their opponents, began to recross the Sutlej and to construct a bridge-head to secure the freedom of their passage. The English were unwillingly induced to let the Sikhs labor at this work, for it was feared that an attack would bring on a general engagement, and that the want of ammunition would prevent a battle being won or a victory being completed. The Sikhs naturally exulted, and they proclaimed that they would again fall upon the hated foreigners. Nor were their boasts altogether disbelieved; the disadvantages of Feerozpoor as a frontier post became more and more apparent, and the English began to experience difficulty in obtaining supplies from the country they had annexed by the pen, without having secured by the sword. The petty fort of Mookutsur, where Govind repulsed his Moghul pursuers after his flight from Chumkowr, was successfully defended for a time against some provincial companies and the auxiliaries of Beekaneer, which, like the legionaries themselves, were deficient in artillery ammunition. The equally petty fort of Dhurmkot was held, in defiance of the near presence of the right wing of the English army; and other defensible places towards Sirhind overawed the population, and interfered with the peaceful march of convoys and detachments.*

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victorious commander had been sent for when it was thought the campaign might become a series of sieges.

* The hill station of Simlah, where many English families

On the 17th January, 1846, Major-General Sir Harry Smith was sent with a brigade to capture Dhurmkot, which was surrendered without bloodshed, and the transit of grain to the army was thus rendered more secure. The original object of Sir Harry Smith's diversion was to cover the march of the large convoy of guns, ammunition, and treasure in progress to Feerozpoor, as well as to clear the country of partizan troops which restricted the freedom of traffic; but when it became known that Runjor Singh had crossed the Sutlej in force and threatened Loodiana, the general was ordered to proceed to the relief of that place. On the 20th of January he encamped at the trading town of Jugraon, within twenty-five miles of his destination, and the authorities of the son of Futteh Singh Alhoowaleed, of the treaty of 1805, to whom the place belonged, readily allowed him to occupy its well-built fort. It was known on that day that Runjor Singh was in position immediately to the westward of Loodiana, and that he had thrown a small garrison into Buddowal, which lay about eighteen miles distant on the direct road from Jugraon. The British detachment, which had been swelled by reinforcements to four regiments of

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reside, and which is near the Sutlej, and the equally accessible posts of Kussowlee and Subathoo, were at this time likewise threatened by the Lahore feudatory of Mundee, and some Sikh partizans; and as the regiments usually stationed at these places had been wholly withdrawn, it would not have been difficult to have destroyed them. But the local British authorities were active in collecting the quotas of the hill Rajpoots, and judicious in making use of their means; and no actual incursion took place, although a turbulent sharer in the sequestered Anundpoor-Makhowal had to be called to account.

infantry, three regiments of cavalry, and eighteen guns marched soon after midnight; and early on the morning of the 21st January, it was learnt that the whole Sikh army, estimated at ten thousand men, had moved to Buddowal during the preceding day. That place was then distant eight miles from the head of the column, and Sir Harry Smith considered that if he made a detour to the right, so as to leave the Sikhs about three miles on his other flank, he would be able to effect his junction with the Loodiana brigade without molestation. A short halt took place to enable the baggage to get somewhat a-head, and it was arranged that the long strings of animals should move parallel to the troops and on the right flank, so as to be covered by the column. As Buddowal was approched, the Sikhs were seen to be in motion likewise, and apparently to be bent on intercepting the English; but as it was not wished to give them battle, Sir Harry Smith continued his march, inclining however still more to his right, and making occasional halts with the cavalry to enable the infantry to close up, it having fallen behind owing to the heavy nature of the ground. But the Sikhs were resolved on fighting, and they commenced a fire of artillery on the British horse, which obtained a partial cover under sand banks, while the guns of the detachment opened upon the Sikhs and served to keep their line in check. By the time that the British infantry and small rear-guard of cavalry had closed up, the fire of the Sikhs had begun to tell, and it was thought that a steady charge by the infantry would throw them into disorder, and would allow the baggage to pass on, and give time to the Loodiana troops to come to the aid of

their comrades. A close contest was indeed the prompting of every one's heart at the moment ; but as the regiments of foot were being formed into line, it was found that the active Sikhs had dragged guns, unperceived, behind sand hillocks to the rear of the column,—or, as matters then stood, that they had turned their enemy's left flank. These guns threw their enfilading shot with great rapidity and precision, and whole sections of men were seen to fall at a time without an audible groan amid the hissing of the iron storm. The ground was heavy, the men were wearied with a march of nine hours and eighteen miles, and it became evident that a charge might prove fatal to the exhausted victors. The infantry once more resumed its march, and its retirement or retreat upon Loodiana was covered with skill and steadiness by the cavalry. The Sikhs did not pursue, for they were without a leader or without one who wished to see the English beaten. Runjor Singh let his soldiers engage in battle, but that he accompanied them into the fight is more than doubtful, and it is certain that be did not essay the easy task of improving the success of his own men into the complete reverse of his enemy. The mass of the British baggage was at hand, and the temptation to plunder could not be resisted by men who were without orders to conquer. Every beast of burden which had not got within sight of Loodiana, or which had not, timorously but prudently, been taken back to Jugraon, when the firing was heard, fell into the hands of the Sikhs, and they were enabled boastfully to exhibit artillery store carts as if they had captured British cannon.*

* Compare the Governor-General to the Secret Committee

Loodiana was relieved, but an unsuccessful skirmish added to the belief so pleasing to the prostrate princes of India, that the dreaded army of their foreign masters had at last been foiled by the skill and valor of the disciples of Govind, the kindred children of their own soil. The British Sepoys glanced furtively at one another, or looked towards the east, their home; and the brows of Englishmen themselves grew darker as they thought of struggles rather than triumphs. The Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief trembled for the safety of that siege train and convoy of ammunition, so necessary to the efficiency of an army which they had launched in haste against aggressors and received back shattered by the shock of opposing arms. The leader of the beaten brigades saw before him a tarnished name after the labors of a life, nor was he met by many encouraging hopes of rapid retribution. The Sikhs on their side were correspondingly elated; the presence of European prisoners added to their triumph; Lal Singh and Tej Singh shrank within themselves with fear, and Golab Singh, who had been spontaneously hailed as Minister and leader, began to think that the Khalsa was really formidable to one greater far than himself, and he arrived at Lahore on the 27th of January, to give unity and vigor to the counsels of

19th January and 3rd February, and Lord Gough's despatch of the 1st February, 1845. After the skirmish of the 21st January, there were found to be sixty-nine killed, sixty-eight wounded, and seventy-seven missing; of which last, several were taken prisoners, while others rejoined their corps in a day or two. Of the prisoners, Mr. Barron, an assistant-surgeon, and some European soldiers, were taken to Lahore.

the Sikhs.* The army under Tej Singh had recrossed the Sultej in force; it had enlarged the bridge-head before alluded to, and so entrenched a strong position in the face of the British divisions. The Sikhs seemed again to be about to carry the war into the country of their enemy; but Golab Singh came too late,—their fame had reached its height, and defeat and subjection speedily overtook them.

During the night of the 22nd January, Runjor Singh marched from Buddowal to a place on the Sutlej about fifteen miles below Loodiana, where he immediately collected a number of boats as if to secure the passage of the river. The object of this movement is not known; but it may have been caused by a want of confidence on the part of the Sikhs themselves, as there were few regular regiments among them, until joined by a brigade of four battalions and some guns from the main army, which gave them a force of not less than fifteen thousand combatants. Sir Harry Smith immediately occupied the deserted position of the enemy, and he was himself reinforced simultaneously with the Sikhs by a brigade from the main army of the English. On the 28th January the General marched with his eleven thousand men, to give the enemy battle or to reconnoitre his position and assail it in some degree of form should circumstances render such a course the most prudent. The Sikhs were nearly ten miles distant, and midway it was learnt that they were about to move with the avowed object of proceeding with a part or the whole of their force to relieve the

* Compare the Governor-General to the Secret Committee, 3rd February, 1846.

fort of Goongrana or to occupy the neighboring town of Jugraon, both of which posts were close to the line of the British communications with the Jumna. On reaching the edge of the table-land, bounding the sunken belt of many miles in breadth within which the narrower channel of the Sultej proper winds irregularly, a portion of the Sikhs were observed to be in motion in a direction which would take them clear of the left of the British approach; but as soon as they saw that they were liable to be attacked in flank, they faced towards their enemy, and occupied with their right the village of Boondree, and with their left the little hamlet of Aleewal, while with that activity necessary to their system, and characteristic of the spirit of the common soldiers, they immediately began to throw up banks of earth before their guns, where not otherwise protected, such as would afford some cover to themselves and offer some impediment to their assailants. An immediate collision was inevitable, and the British Commander promptly gave the order for battle. The regiments of cavalry which headed the advance opened their glittering ranks to the right and left, and made apparent the serried battalions of infantry and the frowning batteries of cannon. The scene was magnificent and yet overawing: the eye included the whole field, and glanced approvingly from the steady order of one foe to the even array of the other; all bespoke gladness of mind and strength of heart; but beneath the elate looks of the advancing warriors there lurked that fierce desire for the death of his fellows which must ever impel the valiant soldier. When thus deployed, the lines of battle were not truly parallel. The Sikh line inclined towards and extended

beyond the British right, while the other flanks were, for a time, comparatively distant. The English had scarcely halted during their march of eight miles, even to form their line; but the Sikhs nevertheless commenced the action. It was perceived by Sir Harry Smith that the capture of the village of Aleewal was of the first importance, and the right of the infantry was led against it. A deadly struggle seemed impending; for the Sikh ranks were steady and the play of their guns incessant; but the holders of the post were battalions of hill men, raised because their demeanor was sober and their hearts indifferent to the Khalsa, and after firing a straggling volley, they fled in confusion, headed by Runjor Singh, their immediate leader, and leaving the brave Sikh artillerymen to be slaughtered by the conquerors. The British cavalry of the right made at the same time a sweeping and successful charge, and one half of the opposing army was fairly broken and dispersed; but the Sikhs on their own right seemed to be outflanking their opponents in spite of the exertions of the English infantry and artillery; for there the more regular battalions were in line, and the true Sikh was not easily cowed. A prompt and powerful effort was necessary, and a regiment of European lancers, supported by one of Indian cavalry, was launched against the even ranks of the Lahore in fantry. The Sikhs knelt to receive the orderly but impetuous charge of the English warriors, moved alike by noble recollections of their country, by military emulation, and by personal feelings of revenge; but at the critical moment, the unaccustomed discipline of many of Govind's champions failed them. They rose

yet they reserved their fire and delivered it together at the distance of a spear's throw; nor was it until the mass had been three times ridden through that the Sikhs dispersed. The charge was wisely planned and bravely made; but the ground was more thickly strewn with the bodies of victorious horsemen than of beaten infantry. An attempt was made to rally behind Boondree; but all resistance was unavailing, the Sikhs were driven across the Sutlej, more than fifty pieces of cannon were taken, and the general forgot his sorrows, and the soldiers their sufferings and indignities, in the fulness of their common triumph.*

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* Compare Sir Harry Smith's despatch of the 30th January, and Lord Gough's despatch of the 1st February, 1846. (*Parliamentary papers* 1846).—The loss sustained was 151 killed, 413 wounded, and 25 missing.

The *Calcutta Review*, No. XVI. p. 499., states that Sir Harry Smith required some pressing before he would engage the Sikhs, after his reverse at Buddowal. That active leader, however, was in no need of such promptings, and had adequate reinforcements reached him sooner than they did, the battle of Aleewal would have been sooner fought. It may likewise be here mentioned, that neither does the reviewer throughout his article do fair justice to Lord Gough, nor, in a particular instance, to the commissariat department of the army. Thus, with regard to the Commander-in-Chief, it is more than hinted (see p. 497), that Lord Hardinge was in no way to blame,—that is that Lord Gough *was* to blame,—for the delay which occurred in attacking the Sikhs at P'heerooshuhur. It may be difficult to ascertain the causes, or to apportion the blame, but the Governor-General can proudly stand on his acknowledged merits and services, and wants no support at the expense of an ancient comrade in arms. Again with regard to the commissariat, it is stated, at p. 488., that supplies, which the head of the department in the field asked six

The victory was equally important and opportune, and the time-serving Golab Singh, whose skill and capacity might have protracted the war, first reproached the vanquished Sikhs for rashly engaging in hostilities with their colossal neighbor, and then entered into negotiations with the English leaders.* The Governor-General was not displeased that the Lahore authorities should be ready to yield; for he truly felt that to subjugate the Punjab in one season, to defeat an army

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weeks to furnish, were procured by Major Broadfoot in six days. The commissariat department could only use money and effect purchases by contract, or in the open market; but Major Broadfoot could summarily require "protected chiefs," on pain of confiscation, to meet all his demands; and the writer of the article might have learnt, or must have been aware, that the requisitions in question led to one chief being disgraced by the imposition of a fine, and had some share in the subsequent deposal of another. Had the British Magistrates of Delhi, Seharunpoor, Bareilly, and other places, been similarly empowered to seize by force the grain and carriage within their limits, there would have been no occasion to disparage the commissariat department. Further, it is known to many, and it is in itself plain, that had the military authorities been required, or allowed, to prepare themselves as they wished, they as simple soldiers, who had no financial difficulties to consider, would have been amply prepared with all that an army of invasion or defence could have required, long before the Sikhs crossed the Sutlej. Lord Hardinge was chiefly responsible for the timely and adequate equipment of the army, in anticipation of a probable war; and with the Governor-General in the field, possessed of superior and anomalous powers, the Commander-in-Chief could only be held reponsible—and that but to a limited extent—for the strategy of a campaign or the conduct of a battle.

* Compare the Governor-General to the Secret Committee, of the 19th February, 1846.

as numerous as his own, to take two capitals, and to lay siege to Mooltan, and Jammoo and Peshawur,—all within a few months,—was a task of difficult achievement and full of imminent risks. The dominion of the English in India hinges mainly upon the number and efficiency of the troops of their own race which they can bring into the field; and a campaign in the hot weather would have thinned the ranks of the European regiments under the most favorable circumstances, and the ordinary recurrence of an epidemic disease would have proved as fatal to the officers of every corps present as to the common soldiers. But besides this important consideration, it was felt that the minds of men throughout India were agitated, and that protracted hostilities would not only jeopardize the communications with the Jumna, but might disturb the whole of the north-western provinces, swarming with a military population which is ready to follow any standard affording pay or allowing plunder, and which already sighs for the end of a dull reign of peace. Bright visions of standing triumphant on the Indus and of numbering the remotest conquests of Alexander among the provinces of Britain, doubtless warmed the imagination of the Governor-General; but the first object was to drive the Sikhs across the Sutlej by force of arms, or to have them withdrawn to their own side of the river by the unconditional submission of the chiefs and the delegates of the army; for, until that were done, no progress could be said to have been made in the war, and every petty chief in Hindostan would have silently prepared for asserting his independence, or for enlarging his territory on the first opportunity. But

the total dispersion of so large and so well equipped a body of brave men, as that which lay within sight of the available force of the British Government, could not be accomplished by one defeat, if the chiefs of the country were to be rendered desperate, and if all were to place their valor and unanimity under the direction of one able man. The English, therefore, intimated to Golab Singh their readiness to acknowledge a Sikh sovereignty in Lahore after the army should have been disbanded ; but the Raja declared his inability to deal with the troops, which still overawed him and other well-wishers to the family of Runjeet Singh. This helplessness was partly exaggerated for selfish objects ; but time pressed ; the speedy dictation of a treaty under the walls of Lahore was essential to the British reputation ; and the views of either party were in some sort met by an understanding that the Sikh army should be attacked by the English, and that when beaten it should be openly abandoned by its own Government ; and further, that the passage of the Sutlej should be unopposed and the road to the capital laid open to the victors. Under such circumstances of discreet policy and shameless treason was the battle of Subraon fought.*

The Sikhs had gradually brought the greater part of their force into the intrenchment on the left bank of the Sutlej, which had been enlarged as impulse prompted

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* Compare the Governor-General's letter to the Secret Committee, of the 19th February, 1846 ; from which, however, those only who were mixed up with the negotiations can extract aught indicative of the understanding with Golab Singh which is alluded to in the text.

or as opportunity seemed to offer. They placed sixty-seven pieces of artillery in battery, and their strength was estimated at thirty-five thousand fighting men; but it is probable that twenty thousand would exceed the truth; and of that reduced number, it is certain that all were not regular troops. The intrenchment likewise showed a fatal want of unity of command and of design; and at Subraon, as in the other battles of the campaign, the soldiers did everything and the leaders nothing. Hearts to dare and hands to execute were numerous; but there was no mind to guide and animate the whole:—each inferior commander defended his front according to his skill and his means, and the centre and left, where the disciplined battalions were mainly stationed, had batteries and salient points as high as the stature of a man, and ditches which an armed soldier could not leap without exertion; but a considerable part of the line exhibited at intervals the petty obstacles of a succession of such banks and trenches as would shelter a crouching marksman or help him to sleep in security when no longer a watcher. This was especially the case on the right flank, where the looseness of the river sand rendered it impossible to throw up parapets without art and labor, and where irregular troops, the least able to remedy such disadvantages, had been allowed or compelled to take up their position. The flank in question was mainly guarded by a line of two hundred "Zumbooruks" or falconets; but it derived some support from a salient battery, and from the heavy guns retained on the opposite bank of the river.* Tej Singh commanded in this

* The ordinary belief that the intrenchments of Subraon were

intrenchment, and Lal Singh lay with his horse in loose order higher up the stream, watched by a body of British cavalry. The Sikhs, generally, were somewhat cast down by the defeat at Aleewal, and by the sight of the unhonored remains ef their comrades floating down the Sutlej ; but the self-confidence of a multitude soon returns : they had been cheered by the capture of a post of observation established by the English and left unoccupied at night, and they resumed their vaunting practice of performing their militaty exercises almost within hail of the British pickets. Yet the judgment of the old and experienced could not be deceived ; the dangers which threatened the Sikh people pressed upon their minds ; they saw no escape from domestic anarchy or from foreign subjection, and the grey-headed chief Sham Singh of Ataree, made known his resolution to die in the first conflict with the enemies of his race, and so to offer himself up as a sacrifice of propitiation to the spirit of Govind and to the genius of his mystic commonwealth.

In the British camp the confidence of the soldiery was likewise great, and none there despaired of the fortune of England. The spirits of the men had been raised by the victory of Aleewal, and early in February a formidable siege train aud ample stores of ammunition

jointly planned and executed by a French and a Spanish colonel, is as devoid of foundation as that the Sikh army was rendered effective solely by the labors and skill of French and Italian General's. Hurbon the brave Spaniard, and Mouton the Frenchman,who were at Subraon, doubtless exerted themselves where they could, but their authority or their influence did not exten beyond a regiment or a brigade, and the lines showed no tr whatever of scientific skill or of unity of design.

arrived from Delhi. The Sepoys looked with delight upon the long array of stately elephants dragging the huge and heavy ordnance of their predilections, and the heart of the Englishman himself swelled with pride as he beheld these dread symbols of the wide dominion of his race. It was determined that the Sikh position should be attacked on the 10th February, and various plans were laid down for making victory sure, and for the speedy gratification of a burning resentment. The officers of artillery naturally desired that their guns the representatives of a high art, should be used agreeably to the established rules of the engineer, or that ramparts should be breached in front and swept in flank before they were stormed by defenceless battalions ; but such deliberate tediousness of process did not satisfy the judgment or the impatience of the commanders, and it was arranged that the whole of the heavy ordnance should be planted in masses opposite particular points of the enemy's intrenchment, and that when the Sikhs had been shaken by a continuous storm of shot and shell, the right or weakest part of the position should be assaulted in line by the strongest of the three investing divisions, which together mustered nearly fifteen thousand men. A large body of British cavalry was likewise placed to watch the movements of Lal Singh, and the two divisions which lay near Feerozpoor were held ready to push across the Sutlej as soon as victory should declare itself. The precise mode of attack was not divulged, or indeed finally settled, until noon of the preceding day, for it was desired to surprize the commanding post of observation, which indifference or negligence had allowed to fall into the hands

of the Sikhs a short time before. The evening and the early hours of darkness of the 9th February were thus occupied with busy preparations; the hitherto silent camp poured all its numbers abroad; soldiers stood in groups, talking of the task to be achieved by their valour; officers rode hastily along to receive or deliver orders; and on that night what Englishman passed battalion after battalion to seek a short repose or a moment's solitary communion, and listened as he went to the hammering of shells and the piling of iron shot, or beheld the sentinel pacing silently along by the gleam of renewed fires, without recalling to mind his heroic King and the eve of Agincourt, rendered doubly immortal by the genius of Shakspeare? *

The British divisions advanced in silence, amid the darkness of night and the additional gloom of a thick haze. The coveted post was found unoccupied; the Sikhs seemed everywhere taken by surprize, and they

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* "Now entertain conjecture of a time,
When creeping murmur and the poring dark
Fill the wide vessel of the universe;
From camp to camp, thro' the foul womb of night,
The hum of either army stilly sounds,
That the fix'd sentinels almost receive
The secret whispers of each other's watch;
Fire answers fire: and through their paly flames
Each battle sees the other's umber'd face:
Steed threatens steed, in high and boastful neighs
Piercing the night's dull ear; and from the tents
The armorers, accomplishing the knights,
With busy hammers closing rivets up,
Give dreadful note of preparation."

Henry V. Act iv. chorus

beat clamorosly to arms when they saw themselves about to be assailed. The English batteries opened at sunrise, and for upwards of three hours an incessant play of artillery was kept up upon the general mass of the enemy. The round shot exploded tumbrils, or dashed heaps of sand into the air; the hollow shells cast their fatal contents fully before them, and the devious rockets sprang aloft with fury to fall hissing amid a flood of men; but all was in vain, the Sikhs stood unappalled, and "flash for flash returned, and fire for fire." The field was resplendent with embattled warriors, one moment umbered in volumes of sulphurous smoke and another brightly apparent amid the splendor of beaming brass and the cold and piercing rays of polished steel. The roar and loud reverberation of the ponderous ordnance added to the impressive interest of the scene, and fell gratefully upon the ear of the intent and enduring soldier. But as the sun rose higher, it was felt that a distant and aimless cannonade would still leave the strife to be begun, and victory to be achieved by the valiant hearts of the close-fighting infantry. The guns ceased for a time, and each warrior addressed himself in silence to the coming conflict —a glimmering eye and a firmer grasp of his weapon alone telling of the mighty spirit which wrought within him. The left division of the British army advanced in even order and with a light step to the attack, but the original error of forming the regiments in line instead of in column rendered the contest more unequal than such assaults need necessarily be. Every shot from the enemy's lines told upon the expanse of men, and the greater part of the division was driven back by

the deadly fire of muskets and swivels and enfilading artillery. On the extreme left, the regiments effected an entrance amid the advanced backs and trenches of petty outworks where possession could be of little avail; but their comrades on the right were animated by the partial success; they chafed under the disgrace of repulse, and forming themselves instinctively into wedges and masses, and headed by an old and fearless leader, they rushed forward in wrath.* With a shout they leaped the ditch, and upswarming, they mounted the rampart, and stood victorious amid captured cannon. But the effort was great; the Sikhs fought with steadiness and resolution; guns in the interior were turned upon the exhausted assailants, and the line of trench alone was gained. Nor was this achievement the work of a moment. The repulse of the first assailants required that the central division should be brought forward, and these supporting regiments also moved in line against ramparts higher and more continuous than the barriers which had foiled the first efforts of their comrades. They too recoiled in confusion before the fire of the exulting Sikhs; but at the distance of a furlong they showed both their innate valour and habitual discipline by rallying and returning to the charge. Their second assault was aided on the left by the presence, in the trenches of that flank, of the victorious first division; and thus the regiments of the centre likewise became, after a fierce struggle, on their own right possessed of as many of the enemy's batteries as lay to their immediate front.

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* Sir Robert Dick was mortally wounded close to the trenches while cheering on his ardent followers.

The unlooked-for repulse of the second division, and the arduous contest in which the first was engaged, might have led a casual witness of the strife to ponder on the multitude of varying circumstances which determine success in war; but the leaders were collected and prompt, and the battalions on the right, the victors of Aleewal were impelled against the opposite flank of the Sikhs; but there, as on all other points attacked, destruction awaited brave men. They fell in heaps, and the first line was thrown back upon the second, which, nothing daunted, moved rapidly to the assault. The two lines mingled their ranks and rushed forward in masses, just as the second division had retrieved its fame, and as a body of cavarly had been poured into the camp from the left to form that line of advance which surpassed the strength of the exhausted infantry.

Openings were thus everywhere effected in the Sikh intrenchments, but single batteries still held out; the interior was filled with courageous men, who took advantage of every obstacle, and fought fiercely for every spot of ground. The traitor, Tej Singh, indeed, instead of leading fresh men to sustain the failing strength of the troops on his right, fled on the first assault, and, either accidentally or by design, sank a boat in the middle of the bridge of communication. But the ancient Sham Singh remembered his vow; he clothed himself in simple white attire, as one devoted to death, and calling on all around him to fight for the Gooroo, who had promised everlasting bliss to the brave, he repeatedly rallied his shattered ranks, and at last fell a martyr on a heap of his slain countrymen. Others might be seen standing on the ramparts amid showers of balls,

waving defiance with their swords, or telling the gunners where the fair-haired English pressed thickest together. Along the stronger half of the battlements, and for the period of half an hour, the conflict raged sublime in all its terrors. The parapets were sprinkled with blood from end to end; the trenches were filled with the dead and the dying. Amid the deafening roar of cannon, and the multitudinous fire of musketry, the shouts of triumph or of scorn were yet heard, and the flashing of innumerable swords was yet visible; or from time to time exploding magazines of powder, threw bursting shells and beams of wood and banks of earth high above the agitated sea of smoke and flame which enveloped the host of combatants, and for a moment arrested the attention amid all the din and tumult of the tremendous conflict. But gradually each defensible position was captured, and the enemy was pressed towards the scarcely fordable river; yet, although assailed on either side by squadrons of horse and battalions of foot, no Sikh offered to submit, and no disciple of Govind asked for quarter. They everywhere showed a front to the victors, and stalked slowly and sullenly away, while many rushed singly forth to meet assured death by contending with a multitude. The victors looked with stolid wonderment upon the indomitable courage of the vanquished, and forbore to strike when the helpless and the dying frowned unavailing hatred. But the warlike rage, or the calculating policy of the leaders, had yet to be satisfied, and standing with the slain heaped on all side around them, they urged troops of artillery almost into the waters of the Sutlej to more thoroughly destroy the army which had so long scorned

their power. No deity of heroic fable received the living within the oozy gulphs of the oppressed stream, and its current was choked with added numbers of the dead and crimsoned with the blood of a fugitive multitude.

"Such is the lust of never-dying fame."

But vengeance was complete; the troops, defiled with dust and smoke and carnage, stood mute indeed for a moment, until the glory of their success rushing upon their minds, they gave expression to their feelings, and hailed their victorious commanders with reiterated shouts of triumph and congratulation.*

On the night of the victory some regiments were pushed across the Sutlej opposite Feerozpoor—no enemy was visible—and on the 12th February the

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* Compare Lord Gough's despatch of the 13th February, 1846, and Macgregor's *History of the Sikhs*, ii. 154, &c. The casualties on the side of the British were 320 killed, and 2,083 wounded. The loss of the Sikhs, perhaps exceeded 5,000, and possibly amounted to 8,000, the lower estimate of the English despatches.

The Commander-in-Chief estimated the force of the Sikhs at 30,000 men, and it was frequently said they had thirty-six regiments in position; but it is nevertheless doubtful whether there were so many as 20,000 *armed* men in the trenches. The number of the actual assailants may be estimated at 15,000 effectiv soldiers.

Subraon or correctly Subrahan, the name by which the battle is known, is taken from that of a small village, or rather two small villages, in the neighborhood. The villages in question were inhabited by the subdivision of a tribe called Subrah, or, in the plural, Subrahan; and hence the name became applied to their place of residence, and has at last become identified with a great and important victory.

fort of Kussoor was occupied without opposition. On the following day the army encamped under the walls of that ancient town, and it was ascertained that the Sikhs still held together to the number of twenty thousand men in the direction of Amritsir. But the power of the armed representatives of the Khalsa was gone; the holders of treasure and food, and all the munitions of war, had first passively helped to defeat them, and then openly joined the enemy; and the soldiery readily assented to the requisition of the court that Golab Singh, their chosen Minister, should have full powers to treat with the English on the already admitted basis of recognising a Sikh government in Lahore. On the 15th of the month the Raja and several other chiefs were received by the Governor-General at Kusoor, and they were told that Dhuleep Singh would continue to be regarded as a friendly sovereign, but that the country between the Beeas and Sutlej would be retained by the conquerors, and that a million and a half sterling must be paid as some indemnity for the expenses of the war, in order, it was said, that all might hear of the punishment which had overtaken aggressors, and become fully aware that inevitable loss followed vain hostilities with the unoffending English. After a long discussion the terms were reluctantly agreed to, the young Muharaja came and tendered his submission in person, and on the 20th February the British army arrived at the Sikh capital. Two days afterwards a portion of the citadel was garrisoned by English regiments, to mark more fully to the Indian world that a vaunting enemy had been effectually humbled; for throughout the breadth of the land the chiefs talked, in

the bitterness of their hearts, of the approaching downfall of the stern unharmonizing foreigners.*

The Governor-General desired not only to chastise the Sikhs for their past aggressions, but to overawe them for the future, and he had thus chosen the Beeas, as offering more commanding positions; with reference to Lahore than the old boundary of the Sutlej. With the same object in view, he had originally thought Raja Golab Singh might advantageously be made independent in the hills of Jummoo.† Such a recognition by the British government had, indeed, always been one of the wishes of that ambitious family; but it was not, perhaps, remembered that Golab Singh was still more desirous of becoming the acknowledged Minister of the dependent Punjab;‡ nor was it perhaps thought that the overtures

* Compare the Governor-General to the Secret Committee, under dates the 19th February, and 4th March, 1846.

† Compare the Governor-General to the Secret Committee, of 3rd and 19th February, 1846.

‡ This had been the aim of the family for many years; or at least, from the time that Dhian Singh exerted himself to remove Colonel Wade, in the hope that a British representative might be appointed who would be well disposed towards himself, which he thought Colonel Wade was not. Mr. Clerk was aware of both schemes of the Lahore Minister, although the greater prominence was naturally given to the project of rendering the Jummoo chiefs independent, owing to the aversion with which they were regarded after Nao Nihal Singh's death.

Had the English said that they desired to see Golab Singh remain Minister, and had they been careless whether Lal Singh lived or was put to death, it is highly probable that a fair and vigorous government would have been formed, and also that the occupation of Lahore, and perhaps the second treaty of 1846, need never have taken place.

of the Raja—after the battle of Aleewal had foreboded the total rout of the Sikh army—were all made in the hope of assuring to himself a virtual viceroyalty over the whole dominion of Lahore. Golab Singh had been appointed Vuzeer by the chiefs and people when danger pressed them, and he had been formally treated with as Minister by the English when the Governor-General thought time was short, and his own resources distant ;* but when Lal Singh saw that after four pitched battles the English Viceroy was content or compelled to leave Lahore a dependent ally, he rejoiced that his undiminished influence with the mother of the Muharaja would soon enable him to supplant the obnoxious chief of Jummoo. The base sycophant thus congratulated himself on the approaching success of all his treasons, which had simply for their object his own personal aggrandizement at the expense of Sikh independence. Golab Singh felt his inability to support himself without the countenance of the English ; but they had offered him no assurance of support as Minister, and he suddenly perplexed the Governor-General by asking him what *he* was to get for all he had done to bring about a speedy peace, and to render the army an easy prey.

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* Compare the Governor-General's letter to the Secret Committee, of the 3d and 19th February, 1846. In both of these despatches Lord Hardinge indicates that he intended to do something for Golab Singh, but he does not state that he designed to make him independent of Lahore, nor does he say that he told the Sikh Chiefs the arrangements then on foot might include the separation of Jummoo ; and the truth would seem to be, that in the first joy of success the scheme of conciliating the powerful Raja remained in a manner forgotten.

It was remembered that at Kussoor he had said the way to carry on a war with the English was to leave the sturdy infantry intrenched and watched, and to sweep the open country with cavalry to the gates of Delhi; and while negotiations were still pending, and the season advancing, it was desired to conciliate one who might render himself formidable in a day, by joining the remains of the Sikh forces and by opening his treasures and arsenals to a warlike population.

The low state of the Lahore treasury, and the anxiety of Lal Singh to get a dreaded rival out of the way, enabled the Governor-General to appease Golab Singh in a manner sufficiently agreeable to the Raja himself, and which still further reduced the importance of the successor of Runjeet Singh. The Raja of Jummoo did not care to be simply the master of his native mountains; but as two thirds of the pecuniary indemnity required from Lahore could not be made good, territory was taken instead of money, and Cashmeer and the hill states from the Beeas to the Indus were cut off from the Punjab Proper, and transferred to Golab Singh as a separate sovereign for a million of pounds sterling. The arrangement was a dexterous one, if reference be only had to the policy of reducing the power of the Sikhs; but the transaction scarcely seems worthy of the British name and greatness, and the objections become stronger when it is considered that Golab Singh had agreed to pay sixty-eight lakhs of rupees (680,000*l.*), as a fine to his paramount, before the war broke out,* and that the custom of the East as well as

* Major Broadfoot to Government, 5th May, 1845. The author

of the West requires the feudatory to aid his lord in foreign war and domestic strife. Golab Singh ought thus to have paid the deficient million of money as a Lahore subject, instead of being put in possession of Lahore provinces as an independent Prince. The sucession of the Raja was displeasing to the Sikhs generally, and his separation was less in accordance with his own aspirations than the ministry of Runjeet Singh's empire; but his rise to sovereign power excited nevertheless the ambition of others, and Tej Singh, who knew his own wealth, and was fully persuaded of the potency of gold, offered twenty-five lakhs of rupees for a princely crown and another dismembered province. He was chid for his presumptuous misinterpretation of English principles of action; the arrangement with Golab Singh was the only one of the kind which took place, and the new ally was formally invested with the title of Muharaja at Amritsir on the 15th March, 1846.*

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never heard, and does not believe, that this money was paid by Golab Singh.

* On this occasion "Muharaja" Golab Singh stood up, and with joined hands, expressed his gratitude to the British Viceroy,—adding, without however any ironical meaning, that he was indeed his "Zur-khureed," or gold-boughten slave!

In the course of this history there has, more than once, been occasion to allude to the unscrupulous character of Raja Golab Singh; but it must not therefore be supposed that he is a man malevolently evil. He will, indeed, deceive an enemy and take his life without hesitation, and in the accumulation of money he will exercise many oppressions; but he must be judged with reference to the morality of his age and race, and to the necessities of his own position. If these allowances be made, Golab Singh will be found an able and moderate man, who does little in an idle or

But a portion of the territory at first proposed to be made over to him was reserved by his masters, the payments required from him were reduced by a fourth, and they were rendered still more easy of liquidation by considering him to be the heir to the money which his brother Soochet Singh had buried in Feerozpoor. *

Lal Singh became Minister once more; but he and all the traitorous chiefs knew that they could not maintain themselves, even against the reduced army, when the English should have fairly left the country, and thus the separation of Golab Singh led to a further departure from the original scheme. It was agreed that a British force should remain at the capital until the last day of December, 1846, to enable the chiefs to feel secure while they reorganized the army and introduced order and efficiency into the administration. The end of the year came; but the chiefs were still helpless; they clung to their foreign support, and gladly assented to an arrangement which leaves the English in immediate possession of the reduced dominion of Runjeet Singh, until his reputed son and feeble successor shall attain the age of manhood. †

While the Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief remained at Lahore at the head of twenty thousand men, portions of the Sikh army came to the capital to be paid up and disbanded. The soldiers showed

wanton spirit, and who is not without some traits both of good humor and generosity of temper.

* See Appendices XVIII., XIX. and XX., for the treaties with Lahore and Jummoo.

† See Appendix XV., for the second treaty with Lahore.

neither the despondency of mutinous rebels nor the effrontery and indifference of mercenaries, and their manly deportment added lustre to that valour which the victors had dearly felt and generously extolled. The men talked of their defeat as the chance of war, or they would say that *they* were mere imitators of unapproachable masters. But amid all their humiliation, they inwardly dwelt upon their future destiny with unabated confidence; and while gaily calling themselves inapt and youthful scholars, they would sometimes add, with a significant and sardonic smile, that the "Khalsa" itself was yet a child, and that as the commonwealth of Sikhs grew in stature, Govind would clothe his disciples with irresistible might and guide them with unequalled skill. Thus brave men sought consolation, and the spirit of progress which collectively animated them yielded with a murmur to the superior genius of England and civilization, to be chastened by the rough hand of power, and perhaps to be moulded to noblest purposes by the informing touch of knowledge and philosophy.*

The separate sway of the Sikhs and the independence of the Punjab have come to an end, and England reigns the undisputed mistress of the broad and classic land of India. Her political supremacy is more regular and systematic than the antique rule of the Brahmins and Kshutrees, and it is less assailable from without than

* In March, 1846, or immediately after the war, the author visited the Sikh temples and establishments at Keeritpoor and Anundpoor-Makhowal. At the latter place, the chosen seat o

the imperfect domination of the Mahometans; for in disciplined power and vastness of resources, in unity of action and intelligence of design, her government surpasses the experience of the East, and emulates the magnificent prototype of Rome. But the Hindoos made the country wholly their own, and from sea to sea, from the snowy mountains almost to the fabled bridge of Rama, the language of the peasant is still that of the twice-born races; the speech of the wild foresters and mountaineers of the centre and south has been permanently tinged by the old predominance of the Kshutrees, and the hopes and fears and daily habits of myriads of men still vividly represent the genial myths and deep philosophy of the Brahmins, which more than two thousand years ago arrested the attention of the Greeks. The Mahometans entered the country to destroy, but they remained to colonize, and swarms of the victorious races long continued to pour themselves over its rich plains, modifying the language and ideas of the vanquished, and becoming themselves altered by the contact, until, in the time of Akber, the "Islam" of India was a national system, and until, in the present day, the Hindoo and Mahometan do not practically differ more from one another than did the Brahmins and Kshutrees and Veisyas of the time of

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Govind, reliance upon the future was likewise strong; and the grave priests or ministers said, by way of assurance, that the pure faith of the Khalsa was intended for all countries and times; and added, by way of compliment, that the disciples of Nanuk would ever be grateful for the aid, which the stranger English had rendered in subverting the empire of the intolerant and oppressive Mahometans!

Munnoo and Alexander. They are different races with different religious systems, but harmonizing together in social life, and mutually understanding and respecting and taking a part in each other's modes and ways and doings. They are thus silently but surely removing one another's differences and peculiarities, so that a new element results from the common destruction, to become developed into a faith or a fact in future ages. The rise to power of contemned Soodra tribes, in the persons of Mahrattas, Goorkhas, and Sikhs, has brought about a further mixture of the rural population and of the lower orders in towns and cities, and has thus given another blow to the reverence for antiquity. The religious creed of the people seems to be even more indeterminate than their spoken dialects, and neither the religion of the Arabian prophet, nor the theology of the Veds and Poorans, is to be found pure except among professed Moollas and educated Brahmins, or among the rich and great of either persuasion. Over this seething and fusing mass, the power of England has been extended and her spirit sits brooding. Her pre-eminence in the modern world may well excite the envy of the nations; but it behoves her to ponder well upon the mighty task which her adventurous children have set her in the East, and to be certain that her sympathizing labours in the cause of humanity are guided by intelligence towards a true and attainable end. She rules supreme as the welcome composer of political troubles; but the thin superficies of her dominion rests tremblingly upon the convulsed ocean of social change and mental revolutions. Her own high civilization and the circumstances of her intervention

isolate her in all her greatness ; she can appeal to the reason only of her subjects, and can never lean upon the enthusiasm of their gratitude or predilection. To preserve her political ascendancy she must be ever prudent and circumspect ; and to leave a lasting impress she must do more than erect palaces and temples, the mere material monuments of dominion. Like Greece and Rome, she may rear edifices of surpassing beauty, she may bridge gulphs and pierce mountains with the wand of wealth and science. Like these ancient peoples, she may even give birth in strange lands to such Kings as Herod the Great and to such historians as Flavius Josephus ; but, like imperial Rome, she may live to behold a Vortigern call in a Hengist, and a Syagrius yield to a Clovis. She may teach another Cymbeline the amenities of civilized life, and she may move another Attalus to bequeath to her another Pergamus. These are tasks of easy achievement ; but she must also endeavor to give her poets and her sages an immortality among nations unborn, to introduce laws which shall still be in force at the end of sixty generations, and to tinge the faith and the minds of the people with her sober science and just morality, as Christianity was affected by the adoptive policy of Rome and by the plastic philosophy of Greece. Of all these things England must sow the seeds and lay the foundations before she can hope to equal or surpass her great exemplars.*

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* Up to the present time England has made no great and lasting impress on the Indians, except as the introducer of an improved and effective military system ; although she has also done

But England can do nothing until she has rendered her dominion secure, and hitherto all her thoughts have been given to the extension of her supremacy. Up to this time she has been a rising power, the welcome

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much to exalt her character as a governing power, by her generally scrupulous adherence to formal engagements.

The Indian mind has not yet been suffused or saturated by the genius of the English, nor can the light of European knowledge be spread over the country, until both the Sanscrit and Arabic (Persian) languages are made the vehicles of instructing the *learned*. These tongues should thus be assiduously cultivated, although not so much for what they contain as for what they may be made the means of conveying. The hierarchies of "Gymnosophists" and "Ulema" will the more readily assent to mathematical or logical deductions, if couched in words identified in their eyes with scientific research; and they in time must of necessity make known the truths learned to the mass of the people. The present system of endeavouring to diffuse knowledge by means of the rude and imperfect vernacular tongues can succeed but slowly, for it seems to be undertaken in a spirit of opposition to the influential classes; and it is not likely to succeed at all until expositions of the sciences, with ample proofs and illustrations, are rendered complete, instead of partial and elementary only, or indeed meagre and inaccurate in the extreme, as many of the authorized school-books are. If there were Sanscrit or Arabic counterparts to these much-required, elaborate treatises, the predilections of the learned Indians would be overcome with comparative ease.

The fact that the astronomy of Ptolemy, and the geometry of Euclid, are recognized in their Sanscrit dress, as text books of science even among the Brahmins, should not be lost upon the promoters of education in the present age. The philosophy of facts and the truths of physical science had to be made known by Copernicus and Galileo, Bacon and Newton, through the medium of the Latin tongue; and the first teachers and upholders of Christianity preferred the admired and widely spoken

supplanter of Moghuls and Mahrattas, and the ally which the remote weak sought against the neighboring strong. But her greatness is at its height; it has come to her turn to be feared instead of courted. The Princes of India can no longer acquire fame or territory by preying upon one another. Under the exact sway of their new paramount, they must divest themselves of ambition and of all the violent passions of their nature, and they must try to remain Kings without exercising the most loved of the functions of rulers. The Indians, indeed, will themselves politely liken England and her dependent sovereigns to the benignant moon accompanied by hosts of rejoicing stars in her nightly progress, rather than to the fierce sun

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Roman and Greek, both to the antique Hebrew and to the imperfect dialects of Gaul and Syria, Africa and Asia Minor. In either case the language recommended the doctrine, and added to the conviction of Origen and Irenæus, Tertullian and Clement of Rome, as well as to the belief of the scholar of more modern times. Similarly in India, the use of Sanscrit, and Arabic, and Persian, would give weight to the most obvious principles, and completeness to the most logical demonstrations.

That in Calcutta the study of the sciences is pursued with some success, through the joint medium of the English language and local dialects, and that in especial the tact and perseverance of the Professors of the Medical College have induced Indians of family or caste to dissect the human body, do not militate against the views expressed above, but rather serve as exceptions to prove their truth. In Calcutta Englishmen are numerous, and their wealth, intelligence, and political position render their influence overwhelming; but this mental predominance decreases so rapidly, that it is unfelt in fair sized towns within fifty miles of the capital, and is but faintly revived in the populous cities of Benares and Delhi, Poonah and Hydrabad.

which rides the heavens in solitude scarcely visible amidst intolerable brightness; but men covet power as well as ease, and crave distinction as well as wealth; and thus it is with those who endeavor to jest with adversity. England has immediately to make her attendant Princes feel, that while resistance is vain, they are themselves honored, and hold a substantive position in the economy of the imperial Government, instead of being merely tolerated as bad rulers or regarded with contempt and aversion as half-barbarous men. Her rule has hitherto mainly tended to the benefit of the trading community; men of family name find no place in the society of their masters, and no employment in the service of the state; and while the peasants have been freed from occasional ruinous exaction, and from more rare personal torture, they are sometimes oppressed and impoverished by a well-meant but cumbrous and ineffcent law,* and by an excessive and

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* The police of India is notoriously corrupt and oppressive; and even the useful establishments for tracing Thugs and Dakoits, or banded assassins and confederate robbers, may before long become as great an evil in one way as the gangs of criminals there breaking up are in another. The British rule is most defective in the prevention and detection of crime; and while supremely prowerful in military means, the Government is comparatively valueless as the guardian of the private property of its citizens. England has identified herself so little with the people of India, that she leans solely on hireling agency, and trusts the preservations of internal order to men who fear her, indeed, but who hate her at the same time, and can deceive her with ease and impunity. The people themselves, as well as the mass of paid servants, have yet to be enlisted in the cause of justice and order; and some middle class

partial taxation, which looks almost wholly to the land for the necessary revenue of a Government.* The

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landholders should have powers of committal, while others should form juries or punchayets within their "pergunnehs" and "zillahs," or hundreds and shires. Within such limits the zemindars of India are as much alive to public opinion as the landholders of other countries. (For some apposite remarks on the subject, see *Lieutenant-Colonel Sleeman's Rambles and Recollections of an Indian Official*, ii. 313, &c.)

* The proportions of the land-tax to the general revenues of British India are nearly as follows :—

Bengal, 2/5 ; Bombay, $\frac{2}{3}$; Madras, $\frac{3}{4}$; Agra, 4/5.

Average=3/5 of the whole.

In some European states the proportions are nearly as below :—

England 1/24 ; France, $\frac{1}{4}$; Spain, 1/17 (perhaps some error) ; Belgium, 2/11 ; Prussia, 2/11 ; Naples, $\frac{1}{4}$; Austria, $\frac{1}{2}$.

In the United States of America the revenue is almost wholly derived from customs.

It is now idle to revert to the theory of the ancient laws of the Hindoos, or of the more recent institutes of the Mahometans, although much clearness of view has resulted from the learned researches or laborious inquiries of Briggs and Munro, of Sykes and Halhed and Galloway. It is also idle to dispute whether the Indian farmer pays a "rent" or a "tax," in a teachnical sense, since, practically, it is certain, 1. that the Government (or its assign, the jageerdar or grantee,) gets, in nearly all instances, almost the whole surplus produce of the land ; and, 2. that the state, if the owner, does not perform its duty by furnishing from its capital wells and other things, which correspond in difficulty of provision with barns and drains in England. In India no one thinks of investing capital or of spending money on the improvement of the land, excepting, directly, a few patriarchal chiefs through love of their homes ; and, indirectly, the wealthy speculators in opium, sugar, &c., through the love of gain. An ordinary village, "head-man," or the still poorer "ryot," whether paying direct to Government or through a revenue farmer, has

husbandman is sullen and indifferent,* the gentleman nurses his wrath in secrecy, Kings idly chafe and

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just so much of the produce left as will enable him to provide the necessary seed, his own inferior food, and the most simple requisites of tillage; and as he has thus no means, he cannot incur the expense or run the risk of introducing improvements.

Hence it behoves England, if in doubt about Oriental "socage" and "freehold" tenures, to redistribute her taxation, to diminish her assessment on the soil, and to give her multitudes of subjects, who are practically "copyholders," at least a permanent interest in their land, as she has done so largely by "customary" leaseholders within her own proper dominion. There should likewise be a limit to which such estates might be divided, and this could be a advantageously done, by allowing the owner of a petty holding to dispose as he pleased, not of the land itself, but of what it might bring when sold.

For some just observations on the land tenures of India, see *Lieutenant-Colonel Sleeman's Rambles and Recollections of an Indian Official*, i. 80, &c.; and ii. 346, &c.; while, for a *fiscal* description of the transition system now in force in the north-western provinces, the present Lieutenant-Governor's *Directions for Settlement Officers*, and his *Remarks on the Revenue System*, may be profitably consulted.

* Lieutenant-Colonel Sleeman considers (*Rambles of an Indian Official*, ii. 175) that neither have the English gained, nor did other rulers possess, the good-will of the peasantry and landholders of the country.

In considering the position of the English, or of any ruling power, in India, it should always be borne in mind that no bodies of peasantry, excepting perhaps the Sikhs, and, in a lesser degree, the Rajpoots of the West, and no classes of men, excepting perhaps the Mahometans, and, in a lesser degree, the Brahmins, take any interest in the government of their country, or have collectively any wish to be dominant. The masses of the population, whether of towns or villages, are ready to submit to any master, native or foreign; and the multitudes of submissive

intrigue, and some are ready to hope for everything (imprudently of course) from a change of master. The merchant alone sits partly happy in the reflection, that if he is not honored with titles and office, the path to wealth has been made smooth, and its enjoyment rendered secure.

Princes and nobles and yeomen can all be kept in obedience for generations by overwhelming means, and by a more complete military system than at present obtains. Numerous forts and citadels,* the occasional assemblage of armies, and the formation of regiments separately composed of different tribes and races,† will

subjects possessed by England, contribute nothing to her strength except as tax-payers, and, during an insurrection or after a conquest, would at once give the "Government share of the produce" to the wielder of power for the time being, and would thereby consider themselves freed from all obligations and liabilities. England must be just and generous towards these tame myriads; but the men whom she has pre-eminently to keep employed, honored, and overawed, are the turbulent military classes, who are ever ready to rebel and ever desirous of acquiring power.

* The fewness of places of strength, and indeed of places of ordinary security, for magazines of arms and ammunition, is a radical defect in the military system of the English in India. The want of extensive granaries is also much felt, both as a measure of the most ordinary prudence in case of insurrection or any military operation; and as some check upon prices on the common recurrence of droughts in a country in which capitalists do not yet go hand in hand with the Government, and are but little amenable to public opinion beyond their order. Such was, and is, the custom of the native Princes, and no practice exists without a reason.

† The English have not succeeded in making their well-ordered army a separate caste or section of the community, except very partially in the Madrâs presidency, where a Sepoy's

long serve to ensure supremacy and to crush the efforts of individuals; but England has carefully to watch the progress of that change in social relations and religious feelings of which Sikhism is the most marked exponent. Among all ranks of men there is a spirit at work which rejects as vain the ancient forms and ideas whether of Brahminism or Mahometanism, and which clings for present solace and future happiness to new intercessors and to another manifestation of divine power and mercy. This laboring spirit has developed itself most strongly on the confines of the two antagonist creeds;

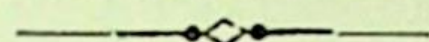
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home is his regiment. It is moreover but too apparent that the active military spirit of the Sepoys, when on service in India, is not now what it was when the system of the "Company" was new and the fortune of the strangers beginning, This is partly due to the general pacification of the country, partly to the practice of largely enlisting tame spirited men of inferior caste bebause they are well behaved, or pliant intriguing Brahmins because they can write and are intelligent; and partly because the system of central or rather single management has been carried too far. The Indian is eminently a partizan, and his predilection for his immediate supperior should be encouraged, the more especially as there can be no doubt of the loyalty as of the English commandant. The clannish, or feudal, or mercenary, attachments do not in India yield to rational conviction or political principle, and colonels of battalions should have very large powers. Regiments separately composed of men of one or other of the military classes might sometimes give trouble within themselves, and sometimes come into collision with other regiments; but a high warlike feeling would be engendered; and unless England chooses to identify herself with some of the inferior races, and to evoke a new spirit by becoming a religious reformer, she must keep the empire she has won by working upon the feelings she finds prevalent in the country.

but the feeling pervades the Indian world, and the extension of Sikh arms would speedily lead to the recognition of Nanuk and Govind as the long looked-for Comforters. The Sikhs have now been struck by the petrific hand of material power, and the ascendancy of a third race has everywhere infused new ideas, and modified the aspirations of the people. The confusion has thus been increased for a time; but the pregnant fermentation of mind must eventually body itself forth in new shapes; and a prophet of name unknown may arise to diffuse a system which shall consign the Veds and Koran to the oblivion of the Zendavest and the Sibylline Leaves, and which may not perhaps absorb one ray of light from the wisdom and morality of that faith which adorns the civilization of the Christian rulers of the country. But England must hope that she is not to exercise an unfruitful sway; and she will add fresh lustre to her renown, and derive an additional claim to the gratitude of posterity, if she can seize upon the essential principles of that element which disturbs her multitudes of Indian subjects, and imbue the mental agitation with new qualities of beneficent fertility, so as to give to it an impulse and a direction which shall surely lead to the prevalence of a religion of truth and to the adoption of a Government of freedom and progress.

APPENDICES.

APPENDICES.



APPENDIX I.

THE "ADEE GRUNT'H," OR, FIRST BOOK ; OR THE BOOK OF NANUK, THE FIRST GOOROO OR TEACHER OF THE SIKHS.

NOTE.— The First Grunt'h is nowhere narrative or historical. It throws no light, by direct exposition, upon the political state of India during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, although it contains many allusions illustrative of the condition of society, and of the religious feelings of the times. Its teaching is to the general purport that God is to be worshipped in spirit and in truth, with little reference to particular forms, and that salvation is unattianable without grace, faith, and good works.

The "Adee Grunt'h" comprises, *first*, the writings attributed to Nanuk, and the succeeding teachers of the Sikh faith up to the ninth Gooroo, Tegh Buhadur, omitting the sixth, seventh, and eighth, but with perhaps some additions and emendations by Govind ; *secondly*, the compositions of certain "Bhugguts", or saints, mostly sectarian Hindoos, and who are usually given as sixteen

in number; and, *thirdly*, the verses of certain "Bhats," or rhapsodists, followers of Nanuk and of some of his successors. The numbers, and even the names of the "Bhugguts," or saints, are not always the same in copies of the Grunt'h; and thus modern compilers or copyists have assumed to themselves the power of rejecting or sanctioning particular writings. To the sixteen Bhugguts are usually added two "Doms," or chanters, who recited before Arjoon, and who caught some of his spirit; and a "Rubabee," or player upon a stringed instrument, who became similarly inspired.

The Grunt'h sometimes includes an appendix, containing works the authenticity of which is doubtful, or the propriety of admitting which is disputed on other grounds.

The Grunt'h was originally compiled by Arjoon, the fifth Gooroo; but it subsequently received a few additions at the hands of his successors.

The Grunt'h is written wholly in verse; but the forms of versification are numerous. The language used is rather the Hindee of Upper India generally, than the particular dialect of the Punjab; but some portions, especially of the last section, are composed in Sanscrit. The written character is nevertheless throughout the Punjabee, one of the several varieties of alphabets now current in India, and which, from its use by the Sikh Gooroos, is sometimes called "Goormookhee," a term likewise applied to the dialect of the Punjab. The language of the writings of Nanuk is thought by modern Sikhs to abound with provincialisms of the country S. W. of Lahore, and the dialect of Arjoon is held to be the most pure.

The Grunt'h usually forms a quarto volume of about 1232 pages, each page containing 24 lines, and

each line containing about 35 letters. The extra books increase the pages to 1240 only.

Contents of the Adee Grunt'h.

1st. The "*Jupjee*" or simply the "*Jup*", called also *Gooroo Muntr*, or the special prayer of initiation of the Gooroo. It occupies about seven pages, and consists of 40 sloks, called *Powree*, of irregular lengths, some of two, and some of several lines. It means, literally, the remembrancer or admonisher, from *Jup*, to remember. It was written by Nanuk, and is believed to have been appointed by him to be repeated each morning, as every pious Sikh now does. The mode of composition implies the presence of a questioner and an answerer, and the Sikhs believe the questioner to have been the disciple Unggud.

2d. "*Sodur Reih Râs*,"—the evening prayer of the Sikhs. It occupies about 3½ pages, and it was composed by Nanuk, but has additions by Ram Das and Arjoon, and some, it is said, by Gooroo Govind. The additions attributed to Govind are, however, more frequently given when the Reih Ras forms a separate pamphlet or book. *Sodur*, a particular kind of verse; *Reih*, admonisher; *Ras*, the expression used for the play or recitative of Krishna. It is sometimes corruptly called the "Rowh Ras," from *Rowh*, the Punjabee for a road.

3d. "*Keerit Sõhila*,"—a prayer repeated before going to rest. It occupies a page, and a line or two more. It was composed by Nanuk, but has additions by Ram Das and Arjoon, and one verse is attributed to Govind. *Keerit*, from Sanscrit *Keertee*, to praise, to celebrate; and *Sohila*, a marriage song, a song of rejoicing.

4th. The next portion of the Grunt'h is divided into thirty-one sections, known by their distinguishing forms of verse, as follows:—

1. Sirree Rag.
2. Majh.
3. Gowree.
4. Assa.
5. Goojree.
6. Deo Gundharee.
7. Bihagra.
8. Wud Huns.
9. Sorut'h (or Sort).
10. Dhunasree.
11. Jeit Sirnee.
12. Todee.
13. Beiraree.
14. Teilung.
15. Sodhee.
16. Bilawul.
17. Gowd.
18. Ram Kullee.
19. Nut Nurayen.
20. Malee Gowra.
21. Maroo.
22. Tokharee.
23. Kedara.
24. Bheiron.
25. Bussunt.
26. Sarung.
27. Mulhar.
28. Kanra.
29. Kulleean.
30. Purbhatee.
31. Jei Jeiwuntee.

The whole occupies about 1154 pages, or by far the greater portion of the entire Grunt'h. Each subdivision is the composition of one or more Gooroo, or of one or more Bhugguts or holy men, or of a Gooroo with or without the aid of a Bhuggut.

The contributors among the Gooroos were as follows:—

1. Nanuk.
2. Unggud.
3. Ummer Das.
4. Ram Das.
5. Arjoon.
6. Tegh Buhadur, with, perhaps, emendations by Govind.

The Bhugguts or saints, and others who contributed agreeably to the ordinary copies of the Grunt'h, are enumerated below.

1. Kubeer (the well-known reformer).
2. Treelotchun, a Brahmin.
3. Behnee.
4. Rao Das, a Chumar, or leather dresser.
5. Nam Deo, a Cheepa, or cloth printer.
6. Dhunna, a Jat.
7. Shekh Furreed, a Mahometan peer or saint.
8. Jeideo, a Brahmin.
9. Bheekun.
10. Sen, a barber.
11. Peepa (a Joghee ?).
12. Sudhna, a butcher.
13. Ramanund Byraghee (a well-known reformer).
14. Purmanund.
15. Soor Das (a blind man).
16. Meeran Baee, a Bhuggutnee, or holy woman.
17. Bulwund, and
18. Sutta, "Doms" or chanters who recited before Arjoon.
19. Soonder Das, Rubabee, or player upon a stringed instrument. He is not properly one of the Bhuguts.

5th. "*The Bhog.*" In Sanscrit this word means to enjoy any thing, but it is commonly used to denote the conclusion of any sacred writing, both by Hindoos and Sikhs. The Bhog occupies about 66 pages, and besides the writings of Nanuk and Arjoon, of Kubeer, Shekh Fureed, and other reformers, it contains the compositions of nine Bhats or rhapsodists who attached themselves to Ummer Das, Ram Das, and Arjoon.

The Bhog commences with four sloks in Sanscrit by Nanuk, which are followed by 67 Sanscrit sloks in

one metre by Arjoon, and then by 24 in another metre by the same Gooroo. There are also 23 sloks in Punjabee or Hindee by Arjoon, which contain praises of Amritsir. These are soon followed by 243 sloks by Kubeers and 130 by Shekh Fureed, and others containing some sayings of Arjoon. Afterwards the writings of Kull and the other Bhats follow, intermixed with portions by Arjoon and so on to the end.

The nine Bhats who contributed to the Bhog are named as follows :—

1. Bhikha, a follower of Ummer Das.
2. Kull, a follower of Ram Das.
3. Kull Suhar.
4. Jalup, a follower of Arjoon.
5. Sull, a follower of Arjoon.
6. Null.
7. Muthra.
8. Bull.
9. Keerit.

The names are evidently fanciful, and perhaps fictitious. In the book called the "Gooroo Bilas" eight Bhats only are enumerated, and all the names except Bull are different from those in the Grunt'h.

Supplement of the Grunt'h.

6th. "*Bhog ka Banee*" or, Epilogue of the Conclusion. It comprises about seven pages, and contains, *first*, some preliminary sloks, called "Slok Meihl Peihla," or, Hymn of the first Woman or Slave ; *secondly*, Nanuk's Admonition to Mulhar Raja ; *thirdly*, the "Ruttan Mala" of Nanuk, *i. e.* the Rosary of Jewels, or sting of

(religious) worthies, which simply shows, however, what should be the true characteristics or qualities of religious devotees; and, *fourthly*, the "Hukeekut" or, Circumstances of Sivnab, Raja of Ceylon, with reference to a "Potee" or sacred writing known as "Pran Singhlee." This last is said to have been composed by one Bhaee Bhunnoo in the time of Govind.

The Ruttun Mala is said to have been originally written in Toorkee, or to have been abstracted from a Toorkee original.

APPENDIX II.

THE "DUSWEN PADSHAH KA GRUNT'H," OR, BOOK OF THE TENTH KING, OR SOVEREIGN PONTIFF, THAT IS, OF GOOROO GOVIND SINGH.

NOTE.—Like the "Adee Grunt'h," the book of Govind is metrical throughout, but the versification frequently varies.

It is written in the Hindee dialect, and in the Punjabee character, excepting the concluding portion, the language of which is Persian, while the alphabet continues the Goormookhee. The Hindee of Govind is almost such as is spoken in the Gangetic provinces, and has few peculiarities of the Punjabee dialect.

One chapter of the Book of the Tenth King may be

considered to be narrative and historical, *viz.* the "Vichitr Natuk," written by Govind himself; but the Persian "Hikayuts," or stories, also partake of that character, from the circumstances attending their composition and the nature of some allusions made in them. The other portions of this Grunt'h are more mythological than the first book, and it also partakes more of a worldly character throughout, although it contains many noble allusions to the unity of the Godhead, and to the greatness and goodness of the Ruler of the Universe.

Five chapters, or portions only, and the commencement of a sixth, are attributed to Govind himself; the remainder, *i. e.* by far the larger portion, is said to have been composed by four scribes in the service of the Gooroo; partly, perhaps, agreeably to his dictation. The names of Sham and Ram occur as two of the writers, but, in truth, little is known of the authorship of the portion in question.

The "Duswen Padshah ka Grunt'h" forms a quarto volume of 1,066 pages, each page consisting of 23 lines and each line of from 38 to 41 letters.

Contents of the Book of the Tenth King.

Ist. "*The Jâpjee*" or, simply, the "Jap," the supplement or complement of the "Jupjee" of Nanuk,—a prayer to be read or repeated in the morning, as it continues to be by pious Sikhs. It comprises 198 distichs, and occupies about seven pages, the termination of a verse and the end of a line not being the same. The Jupjee was composed by Gooroo Govind

2d. "*Akàl Stoot*," or, the Praises of the Almighty,—a hymn commonly read in the morning. It occupies 23 pages, and the initiatory verse alone is the composition of Govind.

3d. "*The Vichitr Natuk*," *i. e.* the Wondrous Tale. This was written by Govind himself, and it gives, *first*, the mythological history of his family or race; *secondly* and account of his mission of reformation; and, *thirdly*, a description of his warfare with the Himalayan chiefs and the Imperial forces. It is divided into fourteen sections; but the first is devoted to the praises of the Almighty, and the last is of a similar tenor, with an addition to the effect that he would hereafter relate his visions of the past and his experience of the present world. The Vichitr Natuk occupies about 24 pages of the Grunt'h.

4th. "*Chundee Churitr*," or, the Wonders of Chundee or the Goddess. There are two portions called Chundee Churitr, of which this is considered the greater. It relates the destruction of eight *Titans* or Deityas by Chundee the Goddess. It occupies about 20 pages, and it is understood to be the translation of a Sanscrit legend, executed, some are willing to believe, by Govind himself.

The names of the Deityas destroyed are as follows:—

1. Mudhoo Keitub.
2. Meih Khasoor.
3. Dhoomur Lotchun.
4. and 5. Chund and Moond.
6. Rukt Beej.
7. Nishoonbh.
8. Shoonbh.

5th. "*Chundee Churitr*" the lesser. The same

legends as the greater Chundee, narrated in a different metre. It occupies about 14 pages.

6th. "*Chundee kee Var.*" A supplement to the legends of Chundee. It occupies about six pages.

7th. "*Gheian Pribodh,*" or the Excellence of Wisdom. Praises of the Almighty, with allusions to ancient Kings, taken mostly from the Muhabharut. It occupies about 21 pages.

8th. "*Chowpeian Chowbees Owtaran Keean,*" or, Quatrains relating to the Twenty-four Manifestations (Owtars or Avatars). These "Chowpeys" occupy about 348 pages, and they are considered to be the work of one by name Sham.

The names of the incarnations are as follows :—

1. The fish, or Much'h.
2. The tortoise, or Kuch'h.
3. The lion, or Nurr.
4. Nurayen.
5. Mohunee.
6. The boar, or Varah.
7. The man-lion, or Nursingh.
8. The dwarf, or Bawun.
9. Purs Ram.
10. Bruhma.
11. Roodr.
12. Jalundhur.
13. Vishnoo.
14. (No name specified, but understood to be a manifestation of Vishnoo.)
15. Arhunt Deo (considered to be the founder of the sect of Seraoghees of the Jein persuasion, or, indeed, the great Jein prophet himself.
16. Mun Raja.
17. Dhununtur (the doctor, or physician).
18. The sun, or Sooruj.

19. The moon, or Chundermah.
20. Rama.
21. Krishna.
22. Nur (meaning Arjoon).
23. Bodha.
24. Kulkee; to appear at the end of the Kulyoog, or when the sins of men are at their height.

9th. (No name entered, but known as) "*Mehdee Meer.*" A supplement to the Twenty-four Incarnation. Mehdee, it is said, will appear when the mission of Kulkee is fulfilled. The name and the idea are borrowed from the Sheea Mahometans. It occupies somewhat less than a page.

10th. (No name entered, but known as) "*the Owtars of Bruhma.*" An account of seven incarnations of Bruhma, followed by some account of eight Rajas of bygone times. It occupies about 18 pages.

The names of the incarnations are as follows:—

1. Valmeek.
2. Kushup.
3. Shookur.
4. Batchess.
5. Veias (Vyasa).
6. Khusht Rikhee (or the Six Sages).
7. Kul Das.

The Kings are enumerated below:—

1. Mun.
2. Pirth.
3. Suggur.
4. Ben.
5. Mandhata.
6. Dhuleep.
7. Rugh.
8. Uj.

11th. (No name entered, but known as) "*the Owtars*

of Roodr or Siva." It comprises 56 pages; and two incarnations only are mentioned, namely, Dutt and Parisnath.

12th. "*Shustr Nam Mâla*," or, the Name-string of Weapons. The names of the various weapons are recapitulated, the weapons are praised, and Govind terms them collectively his Gooroo or guide. The composition nevertheless is not attributed to Govind. It occupies about 68 pages.

13th. "*Sree Mookh Vak, Suweia Butees*," or, the Voice of the Gooroo [Govind] himself, in thirty-two verses. These verses were composed by Govind as declared, and they are condemnatory of the Veds, the Poorans, and the Koran. They occupy about 3½ pages.

14th. "*Huzareh Shubd*," or, the Thousand Verses of the metre called Shubd. There are, however, but ten verses only in most Grunt'h, occupying about two pages. Huzar is not understood in its literal sense of a thousand, but as implying invaluable or excellent. They are laudatory of the Creator and creation, and deprecate the adoration of saints and limitary divinities. They were written by Gooroo Govind.

15th. "*Istree Churitr*," or, Tales of Women. There are 404 stories, illustrative of the character and disposition of women. A stepmother became enamored of her stepson, the heir of a monarchy, who, however, would not gtatify her desires, whereupon she represented to her husband that his first-born had made attempts upon her honor. The Raja ordered his son to be put to death; but his Ministers interfered, and procured a respite. They then enlarged in a series of stories upon the nature of women, and at length the Raja became

sensible of the guilt of his wife's mind, and of his own rashness. These stories occupy 446 pages, or nearly half of the Grunt'h. The name of Sham also occurs as the writer of one or more of them.

16th. *The "Hikayuts,"* or Tales. These comprise twelve stories in 866 sloks of two lines each. They are written in the Persian language and Goormookhee charactar, and they were composed by Govind himself as admonitory of Aurungzeb, and were sent to the emperor by the hands of Deia Singh and four other Sikhs. The tales were accompanied by a letter written in a pointed manner, which, however, does not form a portion of the Grunt'h.

These tales occupy about 30 pages, and conclude the Grunt'h of Gooroo Govind.

APPENDIX III.

SOME PRINCIPLES OF BELIEF AND PRACTICE, AS EXEMPLIFIED IN THE OPINIONS OF THE SIKH GOOROOS OR TEACHERS.

With an *Addendum*, showing the modes in which the missions of Nanuk and Govind are represented or regarded by the Sikhs.

I. *God—the Godhead.*

THE True Name is God; without fear, without enmity; the Being without Death, the Giver of Salvation; the Gooroo and Grace.

Remember the primal Truth; Truth which was before the world began,

Truth which is, and Truth, O Nanuk! which will remain.

By reflection it cannot be understood, if times innumerable it be considered.

By meditation it cannot be attained, how much soever the attention be fixed.

A hundred wisdoms, even a hundred thousand, not one accompanies the dead.

How can Truth be told, how can falsehood be unravelled?

O Nanuk! by following the will of God, as by Him ordained.

NANUK, *Adee Grunt'h*, Jupjee, (commencement of).

One, self-existent, Himself the Creator.
O Nanuk! one continueth, another never was and never will be. NANUK, *Adee Grunt'h*, Gowree Rag.

Thou art in each thing, and in all places.
O God! thou art the one Existent Being.
RAM DAS, *Adee Grunt'h*, Assa Rag.
My mind dwells upone One,
He who gave the Soul and the body.
ARJOON, *Adee Grunt'h*, Sree Rag.

Time is the only God; the First and the Last, the endless Being; the Creator, the Destroyer; He who can make and unmake.
God who created Angels and Demons, who created the East and the West, the North and the South,
How can He be expressed by words?
GOVIND, *Huzareh Shubd*.

God is one image (or Being), how can He be conceived in another form? GOVIND. *Vichitr Natuk*.

2. *Incarnations, Saints, and Prophets; the Hindoo Owtars (Avatars), Mahomet, and Siddhs, and Peers.*

Numerous Mahomets have there been, and multitudes of Bruhmas, Vishnoos, and Sivas,
Thousand of Peers and Prophets, and tens of thousands of Saints and Holy men:

But the Chief of Lords is the One Lord, the true Name of God.
O Nanuk! of God, His qualities, without end, beyond reckoning, who can understand?
NANUK, *Ruttun Mala*, (Extra to the Grunt'h).

Many Brahmas wearied themselves with the study of the Veds, but found not the value of an oil seed.
Holy men and Saints sought about anxiously, but they were deceived by Maya.
There have been, and there have passed away, ten regent Owtars and the wondrous Muhadeo.
Even they, wearied with the application of ashes, could not find Thee. ARJOON, *Adee Grunt'h*, Sodhee.

Soors and Siddhs and the Deotas of Siva; Shekhs and Peers and men of might,
Have come and have gone, and others are likewise passing by. ARJOON, *Adee Grunt'h*, Sree Rag.

Krishna indeed slew demons; he performed wonders, and he declared himself to be Bruhm; yet he should not be regarded as the Lord. He himself died; How can he save those who put faith in him? How can one sunk in the ocean sustain another above the waves? God alone is all-powerful: He can create, and He can destroy.
GOVIND, *Huzareh Shubd*.

God, without friends, without enemies,
Who heeds not praise, nor is moved by curses,
How could He become manifest as Krishna?

How could He, without parents, without offspring, become born to a "Devkee?" GOVIND, *Huzareh Shubd.*

Ram and Ruheem * (names repeated) cannot give salvation.

Bruhma, Vishnoo and Siva, the Sun and the Moon, all are in the power of death. GOVIND, *Huzareh Skubd.*

3. *The Sikh Gooroos not to be worshipped.*

He who speaks of me as the Lord,
Him will I sink into the pit of Hell!
Consider me as the slave of God:
Of that have no doubt in thy mind.
I am but the slave of the Lord,
Come to behold the wonders of Creation.

GOVIND, *Vichitr Natuk.*

4. *Images, and the Worship of Saints.*

Worship not another (than God); bow not to the Dead.
NANUK, *Adee Grunt'h,* Sort Raginee.

To worship an image, to make pilgrimages to a shrine, to remain in a desert and yet to have the mind

* The merciful, *i. e.* the God of the Mahometans.

impure, is all in vain, and thus thou canst not be accepted. To be saved thou must worship Truth (God).

NANUK, *Adee Grunt'h*, Bhog ; in which, however, he professes to quote a learned Brahmin.

Man, who is a beast of the field, cannot comprehend Him whose power is of the Past, the Present, and the Future.

God is worshipped, that by worship salvation may be attained.

Fall at the feet of God ; in senseless stone God is not.

GOVIND, *Vichitr Natuk*,

5. *Miracles*.

To possess the power of a Siddhee, (or changer of shapes,)
To be as a Ridhee, (or giver away of never-ending stores,)
And yet to be ignorant of God, I do not desire.
All such things are vain.

NANUK, *Adee Grunt'h*, Sree Rag.

Dwell thou in flames uninjured,
Remain unharmed amid ice eternal,
Make blocks of stone thy daily food,
Spurn the Earth before thee with thy foot,
Weigh the Heavens in a balance ;
And then ask of me to perform miracles.

NANUK, to a challenger about miracles : *Adee Grunt'h*, Maj Var.

6. *Transmigration.*

Life is like the wheel circling on its pivot,
O Nanuk! of going and coming there is no end.

NANUK, *Adee Grunt'h*, Assa. (Numerous other passages of a like kind might be quoted from Nanuk and his successors.)

He who knows not the One God
Will be born again times innumerable.

GOVIND, *Mehdee Meer.*

7. *Faith.*

Eat and clothe thyself, and thou may'st be happy;
But without fear and faith there is no salvation.

NANUK, *Adee Grunt'h*, Sohila Maroo Rag.

8. *Grace.*

O Nanuk! he, on whom God looks, finds the lord.

NANUK, *Adee Grunt'h*, Assa Rag.

O Nanuk! he, on whom God looks, will fix his mind on the Lord. UMMER DAS, *Adee Grunt'h*, Bilawul.

9. *Predestination.*

According to the fate of each, dependent on his actions, are his coming and going determined.

NANUK, *Adee Grunt'h*, Assa.

How can Truth be told? how can falsehood be unravelled? O Nanuk! by following the will of God, as by Him ordained. NANUK, *Adee Grunt'h*, Jupjee.

10. *The Veds, the Poorans, and the Koran*

Potees, Simruts, Veds and Poorans,
Are all as nothing, if unleavened by God.
NANUK, *Adee Grunt'h*, Gowree Rag.

Give ear to Shasters and Veds and Korans,
And thou may'st reach "Swurg and Nurk."
(*i. e.* to the necessity of coming back again.)
Without God, salvation is unattainable.
NANUK, *Ruttan Mala* (an Extra book of the Adee Grunt'h.)

Since he fell at the feet of God, no one has appeared great in his eyes.
Ram and Ruheem, the Poorans, and the Koran, have many votaries, but neither does he regard.
Simruts, Shasters, and Veds, differ in many things; not one does he heed.
O God! under Thy favour has all been done; nought is of myself. GOVIND, *Reih Ras.*

11. *Asceticism.*

A householder* who does no evil,
Who is ever intent upon good,

* *i. e.* in English idiom, one of the laity: one who fulfils the ordinary duties of life.

Who continually exerciseth charity,
Such a householder is pure as the Ganges.
NANUK, *Adee Grunt'h*, Ramkullee Raginee.

Householders and Hermits are equal, whoever calls on the name of the Lord.
NANUK, *Adee Grunt'h*, Assa Raginee

Be "Oodas" (*i. e.* disinterested) in thy mind in the midst of householdership.
UMMER DAS, *Adee Grunt'h*, Sree Rag.

12. *Caste.*

Think not of race, abase thyself, and attain to salvation.
NANUK, *Adee Grunt'h*, Sarung Rag.

God will not ask man of his birth,
He will ask him what has he done.
NANUK, *Adee Grunt'h*, Purbhatee Raginee

Of the impure among the noblest
Hesd not the injuncetion ;
Of one pure among the most despised
Nanuk will become the footstool.
NANUK, *Adee Grunt'h*, Mulhar Rag.

All say that there are four races,
But all are of the seed of Bruhm.

The world is but clay,
And of similar clay many pots are made.
Nanuk says man will be judged by his actions,
And that without finding God there will be no salvation.
The body of man is composed of the five elements ;
Who can say that one is high and another low ?

UMMER DAS, *Adee Grunt'h*, Bheiruv.

I will make the four races of one color,
I will cause them to remember the words "Wah Gooroo"

GOVIND, the *Rehet Nameh*, which, however, is not included in the Grunt'h.

13. *Food.*

O Nanuk ! the right of strangers is the one the Ox, and the other the Swine.
Gooroos and Peers will bear witness to their disciples when they eat naught which hath enjoyed life.

NANUK, *Adee Grunt'h*, Maj.

An animal slain without cause cannot be proper food.
O Nanuk ! from evil doth evil ever come.

NANUK, *Adee Grunt'h*, Maj.

14. *Brahmins, Saints, &c.*

That Brahmin is a son of Brum,
Whose rules of action are devotion, prayer, and purity ;
Whose principles of faith are humility and contentment.
Such a Brahmin may break prescribed rules, and yet find salvation.

NANUK, *Adee Grunt'h*, Bhog.

The cotton * should be mercy, the thread contentedness, and the seven knots virtue.
If there is such a "Juneeoo" of the heart, wear it;
It will neither break, nor burn, nor decay, nor become impure.
O Nanuk! he who wears such a thread is to be numbered with the holy.

NANUK, *Adee Grunt'h,* Assa.

Devotion is not in the Kinta (or ragged garment), nor in the Dunda (or staff), nor in Bhusm (or ashes), nor in the shaven head (moondee), nor in the sounding of horns (Singheh weieh).

NANUK, *Adee Grunt'h,* Soohee.

In this age few Brahmins are of Bruhm (*i. e.* are pure and holy). UMMER DAS, *Adee Grunt'h,* Bilawul.

The Soonyassee should consider his home the jungle.
His heart should not yarn after material forms:
Gheian (or Truth) should be his Gooroo.

And he should neither be held to be "Sut-joonee," nor "Ruj-joonee," nor "Tumuh-joonee" (that is, should neither seem good for his own profit, only, nor good or bad as seemed expedient at the time, nor bad that he might thereby gain his ends). GOVIND, *Huzareh Shubd.*

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* Viz. the cotton of the Brahminical thread, or juneeoo.

15. *Infanticide.*

——— With the slayers of daughters
Whoever has intercourse, him do I curse.

And again,—

Whosoever takes food from the slayers of daughters,
Shall die unabsolved.

GOVIND, *Rehet Nameh.* (Extra to the Grunt'h.)

16. *Suttee.*

They are not Suttees who perish in the flames.
O Nanuk! Suttees are those who die of a broken heart.
And again,—
The loving wife perishes with the body of her husband.
But were her thoughts bent upon God, her sorrows would be alleviated.

UMMER DAS, *Adee Grunt'h,* Soohee.

ADDENDUM.

Bhaee Goordas Bhulleh's mode of representing the Mission of Nanuk.

There were four races and four creeds * in the world among Hindoos and Mahometans;

* The four *races* of Syeds, Shekhs, Moghuls, and Puthans, are

Selfishness, jealousy, and pride drew all of them strongly :
The Hindoos dwelt on Benares and the Ganges, the Mahometans on the Kaaba ;
The Mahometans held by circumcision, the Hindoos by strings and frontal marks.
They each called on Ram and Ruheem, one name, and yet both forgot the road.
Forgetting the Veds and the Koran, they were inveigled in the snares of the world.
Truth remained on one side, while Moollas and Brahmins disputed,
And Salvation was not attained.

* * * * *

* * * * *

God heard the complaint (of virtue or truth), and Nanuk was sent into the world.
He established the custom that the disciple should wash the feet of his Gooroo, and drink the water ;
Par Bruhm and Poorun Bruhm, in this Kulyoog, he showed were one,
The four Feet (of the animal sustaining the world) were made of Faith ; the four castes were made one ;
The high and the low became equal ; the salutation of the feet (among disciples) he established in the world :*

---

here termed as of four creeds, and likened to the four castes or races of the Hindoos. It is, indeed, a common saying that such a thing is "huram-i-char Muzhub," or forbidden among the four faiths or sects of Mahometans.

* The Akalees still follow this custom.

Contrary to the nature of man, the feet were exalted above the head.

In the Kulyoog he gave salvation : using the only true Name, he taught men to worship the Lord.

To give salvataion in the Kulyoog Gooroo Nanuk came.

Note.—The above extracts, and several others from the book of Bhaee Goordas, may be seen in Malcolm's "Sketch of the Sikhs," p. 152, &c.; rendered, however, in a less literal manner than has here been attempted.

The book contains forty chapters, written in different kinds of verse and it is the repository of many stories about Nanuk which the Sikhs delight to repeat. One of these is as follows :—

Nanuk again went to Mecca ; blue clothing he wore, like Krishna ;

A staff in his hand, a book by his side ; the pot, the cup, and the mat, he also took :

He sat where the Pilgrims completed the final act of their pilgrimage.

And when he slept at night he lay with his feet towards the front.

Jeewun struck him with his foot, saying, "Ho? what infidel sleeps here,

With his feet towards the Lord, like an evil doer?"

—Seizing him by the leg, he drew him aside ; then Mecca also turned, and a miracle was declared.

All were astonished, &c., &c.

Gooroo Govind's mode of representing his Mission. (From the Vichitr Natuk, with an extract from the Twenty-four Incarnations, regarding the last Avatar and the succeeding Mehdee Meer.)

Note.—The first four chapters are occupied with a mythological account of the Sodheo and Behdee sub-divisions of the Kshutree race, the rulers of the Punjab at Lahore and Kussoor, and the descendants of Low and Koosoo, the sons of Ram, who traced his descent through Dusruth, Rugoo, Sooruj, and others, to Kalsen, a primeval monarch. So far as regards the present object, the contents may be summed up in the promise or prophecy, that in the Kulyoog Nanuk would bestow blessings on tbe Sodhees, and would, on his fourth mortal appearance, become one of that tribe.*

Chapter V. (abstract.)—The Brahmins began to follow the ways of Soodras, and Kshutrees of Veiyas, and, similarly, the Soodras did as Brahmins, and the Veisyas as Kshutrees. In the fulness of time Nanuk came and established his own sect in the world. He died, but he was born again as Unggud, and a third time as Ummer Das, and at last he appeared as Ram Das, as had been declared, and the Gooroosship became inherent in the Sodhees. Nanuk thus put no other habiliments, as one lamp is lighted at another. Apparently there were four Gooroos, but, in truth, in each body there was the soul of Gooroo Nanuk. When Ram Das departed, his son Arjoon became Gooroo, who was followed successively

* Compare the translations given in Malcolm's "Sketch," p. 174, &c.

by Hur Gövind, Hur Raee, Hur Kishen, and Tegh Buhadur, who gave his life for his faith in Delhi, having been put to death by the Mahometans.

Chapter VI. (abstract).—In the Bheem Khoond, near the Seven Shuringhee (or Peaks), where the Pandoos exercised sovereignty, (the unembodied soul of) Gooroo Govind Singh implored the Almighty, and became absorbed in the Divine essence (or obtained salvation without the necessity of again appearing on earth). Likewise the parents of the Gooroo prayed to the Lord continually. God looked on them with favour, and (the soul of) Govind was sent for from the Seven Peaks to become one of mankind.

Then my wish was not to reappear,
For my thoughts were bent upon the feet of the Almighty;
But God made known to me his desires.

The Lord said, "When mankind was created, the Deityas were sent for the punishment of the wicked, but the Deityas being strong, forgot me their God. Then the Deotas were sent, but they caused themselves to be worshipped by men as Siva, and Brumha, and Vishnoo. The Sidhs were afterwards born, but they, following different ways, established many sects. Afterwards Gorukhnath appeared in the world, and he, making many Kings his disciples, established the sect of Joghees. Ramanund then eame into the world, and he established the sect of Byraghees after his own fashion. Muhadeen (Mahomet) too was born, and became lord of of Arabia. He established a sect, and required his followers to repeat his name. Thus, they who were sent to guide

mankind, perversely adopted modes of their own, and misled the world. None taught the right way to the ignorant; wherefore thou, O Govind! hast been called, that thou mayst propagate the worship of the One True God, and guide those who have lost the road." Hence I, Govind, have come into the world, and have established a sect, and have laid down its customs; but whosoever regards me as the Lord shall be dashed into the pit of hell, for I am but as other men, a beholder of the wonders of creation.

[Govind goes on to declare that he regarded the religions of the Hindoos and Mahometans as naught; that Joghees, and the readers of Korans and Poorans, were but deceivers; that no faith was to be put in the, worship of images and stones. All religions, he says, had become corrupt; the Soonyasee and Byraghee equally showed the wrong way, and the modes of worship of Brahmins and Kshutrees and others were idle and vain. "All shall pass into hell, for God is not in books and scriptures, but in humility and truthfulness."

The subsequent chapters, to the 13th inclusive, relate the wars in which Govind was engaged with the Rajas of the hills and the imperial forces.]

Chapter XIV. (abstract).—O God! thou who hast always preserved thy worshippers from evil, and hast inflicted punishment on the wicked; who hast regarded me as thy devoted slave and hast served me with thine own hand, now all that I have beheld, and all thy glories which I have witnessed, will I faithfully relate. What I beheld in the former world, by the blessing of

God will I make known. In all my undertakings the goodness of the Lord hath been showered upon me. Loh (iron) has been my preserver. Through the goodness of God have I been strong, and all that I have seen during the various ages will I put in a book; every thing shall be fully made known.

Extract from the Twenty-four Avatars.

Kulkee, (conclusion of).—Kulkee at last became strong and proud, and the Lord was displeased, and created, another Being. Mehdee Meer was created, great and powerful, who destroyed Kulkee, and became master of the world. All is in the hands of God. In this manner passed away the twenty-four manifestations.

Mehdee Meer.—In such manner was Kulkee destroyed, but God manifests himself at all times, and at the end of the Kulyoog, all will be his own.* When Mehdee Meer had vanquished the world he became raised up in his mind. He assumed to himself the crown of greatness and power, and all bowed to him. He regarded himself as supreme. He thought not of God, but considered himself to be in all things and to exist everywhere. Then the Almighty seized the fool. God is One. He is without a second. He is everywhere, in the water and under the earth. He who knows not the One God, will be born again times

* Nij jot, jot Suman.

innumerable. In the end God took away the power of Mehdee Meer, and destroyed him utterly.

> A creeping worm did the Lord create ;
> By the ear of Mehdee it went and stayed :
> The worm entered by his ear,
> And he was wholly subdued.

APPENDIX IV.

THE ADMONITORY LETTERS OF NANUK TO THE FABULOUS MONARCH KARON ; AND THE PRESCRIPTIVE LETTERS OF GOVIND FOR THE GUIDANCE OF THE SIKHS.

NOTE.—Two letters to Karon are attributed to Nanuk. The first is styled the " Nusseeut Nameh, " or Letter of Admonition and Advice. The second is styled simply the " Reply of Nanuk," and professes to be spoken. Karon may possibly be a corruption of Haruon, the 'Haruun el Rrschid' of European and Asiatic fame. Both compositions are of course fabulous as regards Nanuk, and appear to be the compositions of the commencement or middle of the last century.

The two letters of Govind are termed the " Rehet Nameh " and the " Tunkha Nameh, " or the Letter of Rules and the Letter of Fines respectively ; and while

they are adapted for general guidance, they profess to have been drawn up in reply to questions put by individuals, or for the satisfaction of particular inquirers. There is no evidence that they were composed by Govind himeself ; but they mny be held to represent his views, and the principles of Sikhism.

1. *The Nusseent Nameh of Nanuk, or the Letter to Karon, the Mighty Prince, possessing forty Capital Cities replenished with Treasure.* (Extracts from.)

Alone man comes, alone he goes.
When he departs naught will avail him (or bear him witness).
When the reckoning is taken, what answer will he give ?
If then only he repents, he shall be punished.

* * * * *
* * * * *

Karon paid no devotions ; he kept not faith :
The world exclaimed he ruled not justly.
He was called a Ruler, but he governed not well,
For the pleasures of the world ensnared him.
He plundered the earth : hell-fire shall torment him.

* * * * *
* * * * *

Man should do good, so that he be not ashamed.
Repent—and oppress not,
Otherwise hell-fire shall seize thee, even in the grave.

* * * * *

Holy men, Prophets, Shahs, and Khans,
The mark of not one remaineth in the world ;
Eor man is but as the passing shade of the flying bird.

* * * * *

Thou rejoicest in thy Forty Treasures,
But thou hast not kept faith.
See, oh people! Karon utterly confounded.
O Nanuk! pray unto God, and seek God as thy refuge.

2. *The Reply of Nanuk to Karon, the Lord of Medina.*

First, Nanuk went to Mecca;
Medina he afterwards visited.
The lord of Mecca and Medina,
Karon, he made his disciple.
When Nanuk was about to depart,
Karon, the fortunate, thus spoke:
Now thou art about to go,
But when wilt thou return?
Then the Gooroo thus answered:
When I put on my tenth dress
I shall be called Govind Singh;
Then shall all Singhs wear their hair;
They shall accept the "Pahul" of the two-edged dagger:
Then shall the sect of the Khalsa be established;
Then shall men exclaim, "Victory, O Gooroo!"
The four races shall become one and the same;
The five weapons shall be worn by all.
In the Kulyoog they shall array themselves in vestments of blue;
The name of the Khalsa shall be everywhere.
In the time of Aurungzeb
The wondrous Khalsa shall arise.
Then shall battles be waged,
Endless war shall ensue,
And fighting shall follow year after year.

They shall place the name of Govind Singh in their hearts;
Many heads shall be rendered up,
And the empire of the Khalsa shall prevail.
First, the Punjab shall become the land of the Sikhs;
Then other countries shall be theirs;
Hindostan and the North shall be possessed by them;
Then the West shall bow to them.
When they enter Khorassan,
Caubul and Candahar shall lie low.
When Iran * has been laid prostrate,
Mecca shall be beheld,
And Medina shall be seized.
Mighty shall be the rejoicing,
And all shall exclaim, "Hail, Gooroo!"
Unbelievers shall everywhere be destroyed;
The holy Khalsa shall be exalted;
Beasts, and birds, and creeping things, shall tremble (in the presence of the Lord).
Men and women shall everywhere call on God.
The earth, the ocean, and the heavens, shall call on God.
By calling on the Gooroo shall men be blessed.
Every faith shall become of the Khalsa;
No other religion will remain.
"Wah Gooroo" shall everywhere be repeated,
And Pain and Trouble shall depart.
In the Kulyoog shall the Kingdom be established
Which Nanuk received from the Lord.
Worthless, I fall before God;
Nanuk, the slave, cannot comprehend the ways of the Lord.

* Persia.

3. *The Rehete Nameh of Gooroo Govind.* (Extracts from, and abstracts of portions.)

Written for Durreeaee Oodassee, and repeated to Pruhlad Singh at Upchullunuggur (Nuderh on the Godavery.)

The Gooroo being seated at Upchullunuggur, spake to Pruhld Singh, saying, that through the favor of Nanuk there was a sect or faith in the world for which rules (rehet) should be established.

A Sikh who puts a cap (topee)* on his head, shall die seven deaths of dropsy.
Whosoever wears a thread round his neck is on the way to damnation.

[It is forbidden to take off the turban (pug) while eating, to have intercourse with Meenas, Mussundees, and Kooreemars (children slayers,) and to play at chess with women.

No prayers are to be offered up without using the name of the Gooroo, and he who heeds not the Gooroo and serves not the disciples faithfully, is a Mletcha indeed.

A Sikh who does not acknowledge the Hookumnameh (requisition for benevolences or contributions) of the Gooroo, shall fall under displeasure].

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* Referring particularly to Hindoo ascetfcs; but perhaps, also to the Mahometans, who formerly wore skull-caps alone, and now genarally wind their turbans round a covering of the kind. The Sikh contempt for either kind of "topee" has been thrown into the shade by their repugnance, in common with all other Indians, to the English cap or hat.

First the Gooroo (Grunt'h or Book) and Khalsa, which,
I have placed in the world,
Whosoever denies or betrays either shall be driven
forth and dashed into hell.

[It is forbidden to wear clothing dyed with safflower (*i. e.* of a "Soohee" colour,) to wear charms on the head, to break the fast without reciting the Jup (the prayer of Nanuk), to neglect reading prayers in the morning, to take the evening meal without reciting the Reih Ras, to leave Akal Poorik (the Timeless Being), and worship other Gods, to worship stones, to make obeisance to any not a Sikh, to forget the Grunt'h, and to deceive the Khalsa.

All Hookumnamehs (calls for tithes or contributions) given by the posterity of Nanuk, of Unggud, and of Ummer Das, shall be heeded as his own: whosoever disregards them shall perish.

The things which he had placed in the world (*viz.* the Grunt'h and the Khalsa) are to be worshipped. Strange Gods are not to be heeded, and the Sikh who forsakes his faith shall be punished in the world to come.

He who worships graves and dead men ("gor" and "murree," referring to Mahometans and Hindoos), or he who worships temples (mosques) or stones (images), is not a Sikh.

The Sikh who makes obeisance or bows down to the wearer of a cap (topee) is a resident of hell.]

Consider the Khalsa as the Gooroo, as the very
embodiment of the Gooroo:
He who wishes to see the Gooroo will find him in the
Khalsa.

[Trust not Joghees or Toorks. Remember the writings of the Gooroo only. Regard not the six Dursuns (or systems of faith or speculatfon). Without the Gooroo, all Deities are as naught. The Image of the Almighty is the visible body (pruggut deh) of the immortal Khalsa (Akal). The Khalsa is everything, other divinities are as sand, which slips through the fingers. By the order of God the Punt'h (or sect) of Sikhs has been established. All Sikhs must believe the Gooroo and the Grunt'h. They should bow to the Grunt'h alone. All prayers save the prayers of the Gooroo are idle and vain.

He who gives the "Pahul" to another shall reap innumerable blessings. He who instructs in the prayers and scriptures of the Gooroos shall attain salvation. Govind will reverence the Sikh who chafes the hands and the feet of the wearied Sikh traveller. The Sikh who gives food to other Sikhs, on him will the Gooroo look with favor.

Delivered on Thursday the 5th day of the dark phase of the Moon of Magh in the Sumbut year 1752 (beginning of 1696 A. D.). He who heeds these injunctions is a Sikh of Gooroo Govinda Sing. The orders of the Gooroo are as himself. Depend on God.]

4. *The Tunkha Nameh, or Rules of Fines or Restrictions on Sikhs.* (Abstract of.)

Written in reply to the question of Bhaee Nund Lal, who had asked Gooroo Govind what it was proper for a Sikh to do, and what to refrain from.

Nund Lal asked, &c.: and the Gooroo replied that

such were to be the acts of the Sikhs. A Sikh should set his heart on God, on charity, and on purity (Nam, Dan, Ishnan). He who in the morning does not repair to some temple, or visit some holy man, is greatly to blame. He who does not allow the poor a place (in his heart) is to blame. Without the favor of God nothing can be accomplished. He who bows his head (*i. e.* humbles himself) after having offered up prayers is a man of holiness. Charity (Kurra Prusad, *i. e.* food) should be distributed in singleness of mind to all comers equally. Prusad should be prepared of equal parts of flour, sugar, and butter. The preparer should first bathe, and while cooking it he should repeat "Wah Gooroo" continually. When ready, the food should be put on a round place.

The Sikh who wears the (written) charms of the Toorks, or who touches iron with his feet, is to be condemned. He who wears clothing dyed with safflower (of the colour called Soohee), and he who takes snuff (niswar) is to be condemned.*

He who looks lustfully upon the mother or sister of one of the brethren—he who does not bestow his daughter becomingly in marriage—he who takes to himself the property of a sister or daughter—he who wears not iron in some shape—he who robs or oppresses the poor, and he who makes obeisance to a Toork, is to be punished.

A Sikh should comb his locks, and fold and unfold

* This is the only recorded prohibition against tobacco, to refrain from which in every shape is now a rule. The Afghans of Peshawur and Caubul continue to take snuff, a practice but little known to the Indians.

his turban twice a day. Twice also should he wash his mouth.

One tenth of all goods should be given (in charity) in the name of the Gooroo.

Sikhs should bathe in cold water: they should not break their fast until they have repeated the Jup. In the morning, Jup, in the evening, Reih Ras, and before retiring to rest, Sohila should always be repeated.

No Sikh should speak false of his neighbor. Promises ahould be carefully fulfilled.

No Sikh should eat flesh from the hands of the Toorks.

A Sikh should not delight in women, nor give himself up to them.

The Sikh who calls himself a Sadh (or Holy man) should act in strict accordance with his professions.

A journey should not be undertaken, nor should business be set about, nor should food be eaten, without first remembering or calling on God.

A Sikh should enjoy the society of his own wife only. He should not desire other women.

He who sees a poor man and gives him not something, shall not behold the presence of God.

He who neglects to pray, or who abuses the holy, or who gambles, or who listens to those who speak evil of the Gooroos, is no Sikh.

Daily, some portion of what is gained is to be set aside in the name of the Lord, but all business must be carried on in sincerity and truth.

Flame should not be extinguished with the breath, nor should fire be put out with water, a portion of which has been drunk.

Before meals the name of the Gooroo should be repeated. The society of prostitutes is to be avoided, nor is adultery to be committed with the wife of another. The Gooroo is not to be forsaken, and others followed. No Sikh should expose his person ; he should not bathe in a state of nudity, nor when distributing food should he be naked.* His head should always be covered.

He is of the Khalsa,
Who speaks evil to none,
Who combats in the van,
Who gives in charity,
Who slays a Khan,
Who subdues his passions,
Who burns the "Kurms" †
Who does not yield to superstitions,‡
Who is awake day and night,
Who delights in the sayings of the Gooroos,
And who never fears, although often overcome.
Considering all as created by the Lord,
Give offence to none, otherwise the Lord will himself be offended.

He is of the Khalsa,
Who protects the poor,
Who combats evil,

* The practices of many Hindoo ascetics are mainly aimed at.

† *i. e.* who despises the ceremonial forms of the Brahmins.

‡ Hindee, Aan, said to correspond with the meaning of the Arabic Aar,— one who does affect to be in any way protected by Saints or others. The same term is applied to the brotherhod or mutual dependence of a chief and his followers.

Who remembers God,
Who achieves greatness*,
Who is intent upon the Lord,
Who is wholly unfettered,
Who mounts the war horse,
Who is ever waging battle,
Who is continually armed,
Who slays the Toorks,
Who extends the faith,
And who gives his head with what is upon it.
The name of God shall be proclaimed ;
No one shall speak against Him ;
The rivers and the mountains shall remember Him ?
All who call upon Him shall be saved.

O Nund Lal ! attend to what is said ;
My own rule will I establish,
The four races shall be one,
I will cause all to repeat the prayer of " Wah Gooroo."
The Sikhs of Govind shall bestride horses, and bear hawks upon their hands,
The Toorks who behold them shall fly,
One shall combat a multitude,
And the Sikh who thus perishes shall be blessed for ever.
At the doorway of a Sikh shall wait elephants caparisoned,
And horsemen with spears, and there shall be music over his gateway.

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* Literally, who resides in state.

When myriads of matches burn together,
Then shall the Khalsa conquer East and West.
The Khalsa shall rule ; none can resist :
The rebellious shall be destroyed, and the obidient shall have favors heaped upon them.

APPENDIX V.

A LIST OF SOME SIKH SECTS OR DENOMINATIONS,

(In which, however, some Names or Titles not properly distinctive of an Order are also inserted.)

1st. *Oodasee.*—Founded by Sree Chund, a son of Nanuk. The Oodasees were rejected by Ummer Das, as not being genuine Sikhs.

2d. *Behdee*, founded by Lukshmee Das, another son of Nanuk.

3d. *Teehun*, founded by Gooroo Unggud.

4th. *Bhulleh*, founded by Gooroo Ummer Das.

5th. *Sodhee*, founded by Gooroo Ram Das.

Note.—The Behdees, Teehuns, Bhullehs, and Sodhees are rather Sikhs of the subdivisions of Kshutrees, so called, (*i. e.* of the tribes of certain Gooroos,) than distinct sects.

6th. *Ram Rayee*, seceders who adhered to Ram Raee when Tegh Buhadur became Gooroo. They have a considerable establishment in the Lower Himalayas, near Hurdwar.

7th. *Bunda-Punt'hee*, *i. e.* of the sect of Bunda, who succeeded Govind as a temporal leader.

8th. *Mussundee.*—Mussund is simply the name of a subdivision of the Kshutree race; but it is also specially applied to the followers of those who resisted Govind; some say as adherents of Ram Raee, and others as instigators of the Gooroo's son to opposition. The more common story, however, is that the Mussunds were the hereditary stewards of the household of the several Gooroos, and that they became proud and dissipated, but nevertheless arrogated sanctity to themselves, and personally ill-used many Sikhs for not deferring to them; whereupon Govind, regarding them as irreclaimable, expelled them all except two or three.

9th. *Rungret'ha.* —Converts of the Sweeper and some other inferior castes are so called. (See Note,† P. 103. *ante.*)

10th. *Ramdasee*, *i. e.* Rao or Raee Dasee. — Sikhs of the class of Chumea-s, or leather-dressers, and who trace to the Rao Das, Raee Eas whose writings are inserted in the Grunt'h.

11th. *Muzhubee.* — Converts from Mahometanism are so called.

12th. *Akalee.* — Worshippers of Akal (God), the most eminent of the orders of Purists or Ascetics.

13th. *Nihung.* — The naked, or pure.

14th. *Nirmulleh.* — The sinless. One who has acquired this title usually administers the Pahul to others.

15th. *Gheianee*—The wise, or perfect. A term sometimes applied to Sikhs who are at once learned and pious.

16th. *Soothra Shahee.*—The true, or pure: said to have been founded by one Sootcha, a Brahmin. (See *ante*, Note *, P. 90.)

17th. *Sutcheedaree.*—Likewise the true, or pure: the founder not ascertained.

18th. *Bhaee.*—Literally, brother. The ordinary title of all Sikhs who have acquired a name for holiness; and it is scarcely the distinctive title of a sect, or even of an order.

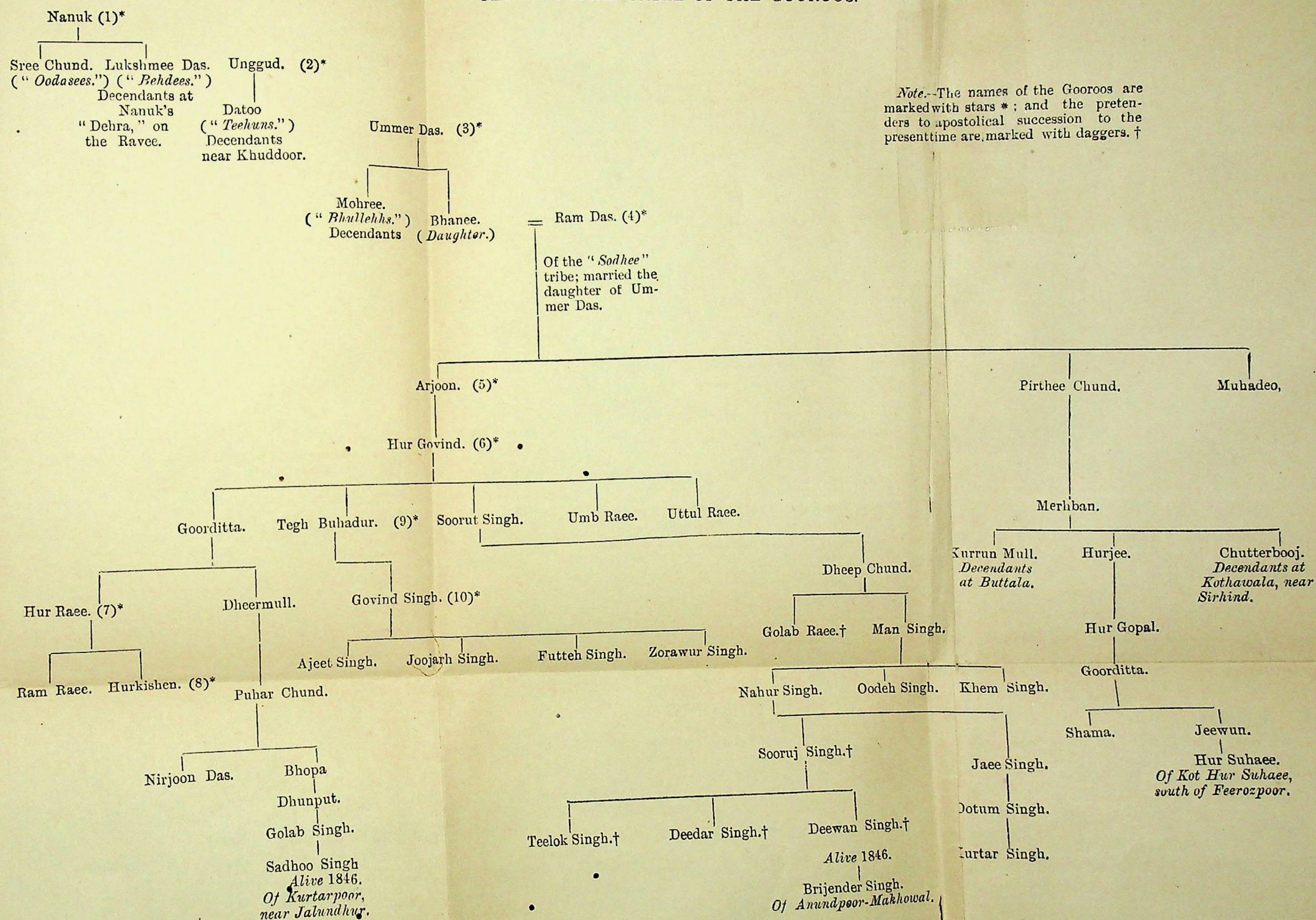
To these may perhaps be added bodies of men who attach themselves to particular temples, or who claim to have been founded by particular disciples of eminence, or by followers who obtained any distinctive title from a Gooroo. Thus some claim to represent *Ram Das*, the companion of Nanuk, who lived till the time of Arjoon, and who obtained the title of "Boodha," or Ancient. Also many hereditary musicians call themselves *Rubabee Sikhs*, from the Rubab, or particular instrument on which they play; and these affect to regard Murdana the companion of Nanuk, as their founder. Others are called *Deewana*, or the Simple or Mad, from one assiduous as a collector of the contributions of the faithful for the service of the Gooroos, and who, while so employed, placed a peacock's feather in his truban. Another class is called *Moossuddee* (or perhaps, Mootsudee, *i. e.* the clerk or writer order), and it is stated to be composed of devotees of the Mahometan religion, who have adopted the "Jup" of Nanuk as their rule of faith. The Moossudees are further said to have fixed abodes in the countries westward of the Indus.

?.—ıe names of the Gooroos are
d th stars * ; and the preten-
o postolical succession to the
t ne are marked with daggers. †

...on into execution.

APPENDIX VI.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE GOOROOS.



APPENDIX VII.

THE TREATY WITH LAHORE OF 1806.

Treaty of Friendship and Unity between the Honorable East India Company and the Sirdars Runjeet Singh and Futteh Singh. (1st January, 1806.)

SIRDAR Runjeet Singh and Sirdar Futteh Singh have consented to the following articles of agreement, concluded by Lieutenant-Colonel John Malcolm, under the special authority of the Right Honorable Lord Lake, himself duly authorized by the Honorable Sir George Hilaro Barlow, Bart., Governor General, and Sirdar Futteh Singh, as principal on the part of himself, and plenipotentiary on the part of Runjeet Singh :—

Article 1. —Sirdar Runjeet Singh and Sirdar Futteh Singh Aloowalla, hereby agree that they will cause Jeswunt Rao Holkar to remove with his army to the distance of thirty coss from Amrutsir immediately, and will never hereafter hold any further connection with him, or aid or assist him with troops, or in any other manner whatever ; and they further agree that they will not in any way molest such of Jeswunt Rao Holkar's followers or troops as are desirous of returning to their homes in the Dekkan, but, on the contrary, will render them every assistance in their power for carrying such intention into execution.

Article 2. — The British Government hereby agrees, that in case a pacification should not be effected between that Government and Jeswunt Rao Holkar, the British army shall move from its present encampment, on the banks of the river Biah, as soon as Jeswunt Rao Holkar aforesaid shall have marched his army to the distance of thirty coss from Amrutsir; and that, in any treaty which may hereafter be concluded between the British Government and Jeswunt Rao Holkar, it shall be stipulated that, immediately after the conclusion of the said treaty, Holkar shall evacuate the territories of the Sikhs, and march towards his own, and that he shall in no way whatever injure or destroy such parts of the Sikh country as may lie in his route. The British Government further agrees that, as long as the said Chieftains, Runjeet Sing and Futteh Singh, abstain from holding any friendly connection with the enemies of that Government, or from committtng any act of hostility on their own parts against the said Government, the British armies shall never enter the territories of the said Chieftains, nor will the British Government form any plans for the seizure or sequestration of their possessions or property]

Dated 1st January, 1806.

APPENDIX VIII.

SIR DAVID OCHTERLONEY'S PROCLAMATION OF 1809.

Precept or "Ittillah Nameh," under the Seal of General St. Leger, and under the Seal and Signature of Colonel Ochterloney; written the 9th of February, 1809, *corresponding to the 23d Zee Hijeh,* 1223, *Hijereh.*

THE British army having encamped near the frontiers of the Muharaja Runjeet Singh, it has been thought proper to signify the pleasure of the British Government, by means of this precept, in order to make all the Chiefs of the Muharaja acquainted with the sentiments of the British Government, which have solely for their object and aim to confirm the friendship with the Muharaja, and to prevent any injury to his country, the preservation of friendship between the two States depending on particular conditions which are hereby detailed.

The Thannahs in the fortress of Khur'r, Khanpore, and other places on this side of the river Sutlej, which have been placed in the hands of the dependents of the Muharaja, shall be razed, and the same places restored to their ancient possessors.

The force of cavalry and infantry which may have crossed to this side of the Sutlej must be recalled to the other side, to the country of the Muharaja.

The troops stationed at the Ghaut of Philour must

march thence, and depart to the other side of the river as described, and in future the troops of the Muharaja shall never advance into the country of the Chiefs situated on this side of the river, who have called in for their security and protection Thannahs of the British Government; but if in the manner that the British have placed Thannahs of moderate number on this side of the Sutlej, if in like manner a small force by way of Thannah be stationed at the Ghaut of Philour, it will not be objected to.

If the Muharaja persevere in the fulfilment of the above stipulation, which he so repeatedly professed to do in presence of Mr. Metcalfe, such fulfilment will confirm the mutual friendship. In case of non-compliance which these stipulations, then shall it be plain that the Muharaja has no regard for the friendship of the British, but, on the contrary, resolves on enmity. In such case the victorious British army shall commence every mode of defence.

The communication of this precept is solely with the view of publishing the sentiments of the British, and to know those of the Muharaja. The British are confident that the Muharaja will consider the contents of this precept as abounding to his real advantage, and as affording a conspicuous proof of their friendship; that with their capacity for war, they are also intent on peace.

Note.—The recorded translation of this document has been preserved, although somewhat defective in style.

APPENDIX IX.

THE TREATY WITH LAHORE OF 1809.

Treaty between the British Government and the Raja of Lahore. (Dated 25th April, 1809)

WHEREAS certain differences which had arisen between the British Government and the Raja of Lahore have been happily and amicably adjusted; and both parties being anxious to maintain relations of perfect amity and concord, the following articles of treaty, which shall be binding on the heirs and successors of the two parties, have been concluded by the Raja Runjeet Sing in person, and by the agency of C. T. Metcalfe, Esquire, on the part of the British Government.

Article 1.—Perpetual friendship shall subsist between the British Government and the State of Lahore: the latter shall be considered, with respect to the former, to be on the footing of the most favored powers, and the British Government will have no concern with the territories and subjects of the Raja to the northward of the river Sutlej.

Article 2.—The Raja will never maintain in the territory which he occupies on the left bank of the river Sutlej more troops than are necessary for the internal duties of that territory, nor commit or suffer any incroachments on the possessions or rights of the Chiefs in its vicinity.

Article 3.— In the event of a violation of any of the preceding articles, or of a departure from the rules of friendship, this treaty shall be considered null and void.

Article 4.— This treaty consisting of four articles, having been settled and concluded at Amrutsir, on the 25th day of April, 1809, Mr. C. T. Metcalf has delivered to the Raja of Lahore a copy of the same in English and Persian, under his seal and signature; and the Raja has delivered another copy of the same under his seal and signature, and Mr. C. T. Metcalf engages to procure within the space of two months a copy of the same, duly ratified by the Right Honorable the Governor General in Council, on the receipt of which by the Raja, the present treaty shall be deemed complete and binding on both parties, and the copy of it now delivered to the Raja shall be returned.

APPENDIX X.

PROCLAMATION OF PROTECTION TO CIS SUTLEJ STATES AGAINST LAHORE. (Dated, 1809.)

Translation of an "Ittilah Nameh," addressed to the Chiefs of the Country of Malwah and Sirhind, on this side of the River Sutlej. (3d May, 1809)

IT is clearer than the sun, and better proved than the existence of yesterday. that the marching of a detachment of British troops to this side of the river Sutlej was entirely at the application and earnest entreaty of the several Chiefs, and originated solely from friendly considerations in the British Government, to preserve them in their possessions and independence. A treaty having been concluded, on the 25th of April, 1809, between Mr. Metcalfe on the part of the British Government, and Muharaja Runjeet Singh, agreeably to the orders of the Right Honorable the Governor-General in Council, I have the pleasure of publishing, for the satisfaction of the Chiefs of the country of Malwah and Sirhind, the pleasure and resolutions of the British Government, as contained in the seven following articles:—

Article 1.—The country of the Chiefs of Malwah and Sirhind having entered under the British protection,

they shall in future be secured from the authority and influence of Muharaja Runjeet Singh, conformably to the terms of the treaty.

Article 2.—All the country of the Chiefs thus taken under protection shall be exempted from all pecuniary tribute to the British Government.

Article 3. — The Chiefs shall remain in the full exercise of the same rights and authority in their own possessions which they enjoyed before they were received under the British protection.

Article 4.—Should a British force, on purposes of general welfare, be required to march through the country of the said Chiefs, it is necessary and incumbent that every Chief shall, within his own possession, assist and furnish, to the full of his power, such force with supplies of grain and other necessaries which may be demanded.

Article 5.—Should an enemy approach from any quarter for the purpose of conquering this country, friendship and mutual interest require that the Chiefs join the British army with all their force, and, exerting themselves in expelling the enemy, act under discipline and proper obedience.

Article 6.—All Europe articles brought by merchants from the eastern district, for the use of the army shall be allowed to pass, by the Thannahdars and Seyerdars of the several Chiefs, without molestation and the demand of duty.

Article 7.—All horses purchased for the use of cavalry regiments, whether in the district of Sirhind or elsewhere, the bringers of which being provided with sealed "Rahdaries" from the Resident at Delhi or

officer commanding at Sirhind, shall be allowed to pass through the country of the said Chiefs without molestation or the demand of duty.

APPENDIX XI.

PROCLAMATION OF PROTECTION TO CIS SUTLEJ STATES AGAINST ONE ANOTHER. (Dated 1811.)

For the Information and Assurance of the Protected Chiefs of the Plains between the Sutlej and Jumna. (22d August, 1811)

ON the 3d of May, 1809, an "Etlanama," comprised of seven articles, was issued by the orders of the British Government, purporting that the country of the Sirdars of Sirhind and Malwa having come under their protection, Raja Runjeet Singh, agreeably to treaty, had no concern with the possessions of the above Sirdars ; That the British Government had no intention of claiming Peishkushs or Nuzerana, and that they should continue in the full control and enjoyment of their respective possessions : The publication of the above "Etlanama" was intended to afford every confidence to the Sirdars, that the protection of the country was the sole object, that they had no intention of control, and that those

having possessions should remain in full and complete enjoyment thereof.

Whereas several Zemindars and other subjects of the Chiefs of this country have preferred complaints to the officers of the British Government, who having in view the tenor of the above "Etlanama" have not attended, and will not in future pay attention to them;—for instance, on the 15th of June, 1817, Delawur Ali Khan of Samana complained to the Resident of Delhi against the officers of Raja Sahib Singh for jewels and other property said to have been seized by them, who, in reply, observed, that the "Cusba of Samana being in the Ameeldary of Raja Sahib Singh, his complaint should be made to him;" and also, on the 12th of July, 1811, Dussowndha Singh and Goormook Singh complained to Colonel Ochterloney, Agent to the Governor General, against Sirdar Churrut Singh, for their shares of property, &c.; and, in reply, it was written on the back of their urzee, "that since, during the period of three years, no claim was preferred against Churrut Singh by any of his brothers, nor even the name of any co-partner mentioned; and since it was advertised in the 'Etlanama' delivered to the Sirdars, that every Chief should remain in the quiet and full enjoyment of his domains, the petition could not be attended to,"—the insertion of these answers to complaints is intended as examples, and also that it may be impressed on the minds of every Zemindar and other subject, that the attainment of justice is to be expected from their respective Chiefs only, that they may not, in the smallest degree, swerve from the observation of subordination. —It is, therefore, highly incumbent upon the Rajas

and other Sirdars of this side of the river Sutlej, that they explain this to their respective subjects, and court their confidence, that it may be clear to them, that complaints to the officers of the British Government will be of no avail, and that they consider their respective Sirdars as the source of justice, and that, of their free will and accord, they observe uniform obedience.

And whereas, according to the first proclamation, it is not the intention of the British Government to interfere in the possessions of the Sirdars of this country, it is nevertheless, for the purpose of meliorating the condition of the community, particularly necessary to give general information, that several Sirdars have, since the last incursion of Raja Runjeet Singh, wrested the estates of others, and deprived them of their lawful possessions, and that in the restoration, they have used delays until detachments of the British army have been sent to effect restitution, as in the case of the Ranee of Terah, the Sikhs of Cholian, the Talookas of Kaorwley and Chehloundy, and the village of Cheeba; and the reason of such delays and evasions can only be attributed to the temporary enjoyment of the revenues and subjecting the owners to irremediable losses,—It is, therefore, by order of the British Goverment, hereby proclaimed that if any one of the Sirdars or others has forcibly taken possession of the estates of others, or otherwise injured the lawful owners, it is necessary that before the occurrence of any complaint the proprietor should be satisfied, and by no means to defer the restoration of the property,—in which, however, should delays be made, and the interference of the British authority become requisite, the

revenues of the estate from the date of ejection of the lawful proprietor, together whith whatever other losses the inhabitants of that place may sustain from the march of troops, shall without scruple be demanded from the offending party; and for disobedience of the present orders, a penalty, according to the circumstances of the case and of the offender shall be levied, agreeably to the decision of the British Government.

APPENDIX XII.

INDUS NAVIGATION TREATY OF 1832.

Articles of a Convention established between the Honorable the East India Company, and his Highness the Muharaja Runjeet Singh, the Ruler of the Punjab, for the opening of the Navigation of the Rivers Indus and Sutlej.

(Originally drafted 26th December, 1832.)

BY the grace of God, the relations of firm alliance and indissoluble ties of friendship existing between the Honorable the East India Company and his Highness the Muharaja Runjeet Singh, founded on the auspicious treaty formerly concluded by Sir T. C. Metcalfe, Bart., and since confirmed in the written pledge of sincere amity presented by the Right Honourable Lord W. G.

Bentinck, G. C. B. and G. C. H., Governor-General of British India, at the meeting at Rooper, are, like the sun, clear and manifest to the whole world, and will continue unimpaired, and increasing in strength from generation to generation :—By virtue of these firmly established bonds of friendship, since the opening of the navigation of the rivers Indus proper (*i. e.* Indus below the confluence of the Penjnud) and Sutlej, (a measure deemed expedient by both States, with a view to promote the general interests of commerce), —has lately been effected through the agency of Captain C. M. Wade, Political Agent at Loodhiana, deputed by the right Honorable the Governor-General for that purpose. The following Articles, explanatory of the conditions by which the said navigation is to be regulated, as concerns the nomination of officers, the mode of collecting the duties, and the protection of the trade by that route, have been framed, in order that the officers of the two States employed in their execution may act accordingly :—

Article 1.—The provisions of the existing treaty relative to the right bank of the river Sutlej and all its stipulations, together with the contents of the friendly pledge already mentioned, shall remain binding, and a strict regard to preserve the relations of friendship between the two States shall be the ruling principle of action. In accordance with that treaty, the Honorable Company has not, nor will have any concern with the right bank of the river Sutlej.

Article 2.—The tariff which is to be established for the line of navigation in question is intended to apply exclusively to the passage of merchandise by that route,

and not to interfere with the transit duties levied on goods proceeding from one bank of the river to the other, nor with the places fixed for their collection: they are to remain as heretofore.

Article 3.—Merchants frequenting the same route, while within the limits of the Muharaja's Government, are required to show a due regard to his authority, as is done by merchants generally, and not to commit any acts offensive to the civil and religious institutions of the Sikhs.

Article 4.—Any one purposing to go the said route will intimate his intention to the Agent of either State and apply for a passport, agreeably to a form to be laid down; having obtained which, he may proceed on his journey. The merchants coming from Amrutsir, and other parts on the right bank of the river Sutlej, are to intimate their intentions to the Agent of the Muharaja, at Hurree-kee, or other appointed places, and obtain a passport through him; and merchants coming from Hindostan, or other parts on the left bank of the river Sutlej, will intimate their intentions to the Honorable Company's Agent, and obtain a passport through him. As foreigners, and Hindoostanees, and Sirdars of the protected Sikh States and elsewhere, are not in the habit of crossing the Sutlej without a passport from the Muharaja's officers, it is expected that such persons will hereafter also conform to the same rule, and not cross without the usual passports.

Article 5.—A tariff shall be established exhibiting the rate of duties leviable on each description of merchandise, which, after having been approved by both Governments, is to be the standard by which the

superintendents and collectors of customs are to be guided.

Article 6.—Merchants are invited to adopt the new route with perfect confidence: no one shall be suffered to molest them or unnecessarily impede their progress, care being taken that they are only detained for the collection of the duties, in manner stipulated, at the established stations.

Article 7.—The officers who are to be entrusted with the collection of the duties and examination of the goods on the right bank of the river shall be stationed at Mithenkot and Hurree-kee; at no other places but these two shall boats in transit on the river be liable to examination or stoppage. When the persons in charge of boats stop of their own accord to take in or give out cargo, the goods will be liable to the local transit duty of the Muharaja's Government, previously to their being landed, as provided in Article 2. The superintedent stationed at Mithenkot having examined the cargo, will levy the established duty, and grant a passport, with a written account of the cargo and freight. On the arrival of the boat at Hurree-kee, the superintendent of that station will compare the passport with the cargo; and whatever goods are found in excess will be liable to the payment of the established duty, while the rest, having already paid duty at Mithenkot, will pass on free. The same rule shall be observed in respect to merchandize conveyed from Hurree-kee by the way of the rivers towards Sindh, that whatever may be fixed as the share of duties on the right bank of the river Sutlej, in right of the Muharaja's own dominions and of those in allegiance to him, the Muharaja's

officers will collect it at the places appointed. With regard to the security and safety of merchants who may adopt this route, the Muharaja's officers shall afford them every protection in their power; and merchants, on halting for the night on either bank of the Sutlej, are required, with reference to the treaty of friendship which exists between the two States, to give notice, and to show their passport to the Thanedar, or officers in authority at the place, and request protection for themselves: if, notwithstanding this precaution, loss should at any time occur, a strict inquiry will be made, and reclamation sought from those who are blameable. The articles of the present treaty for opening the navigation of the rivers above mentioned having, agreeably to subsisting relations, been approved by the Right Honorable the Governor-General, shall be carried into execution accordingly.

Dated at Lahore the 26th of December, 1832.

(Seal and signature at the top)

APPENDIX XIII.

SUPPLEMENTARY INDUS NAVIGATION TREATY OF 1834.

Draft of a Supplementary Treaty between the British Government and Muharaja Runjeet Singh for establishing a Toll on the Indus. (29th November, 1834)

IN conformity with the subsisting relations of friendship, as establisded and confirmed by former treaties, between the Honorable the East India Company and his Highness Muharaja Runjeet Singh; and whereas in the 5th article of the treaty concluded at Lahore on the 26th day of December, 1832, it was stipulated that a moderate scale of duties should be fixed by the two Governments in concert, to be levied on all merchandize on transit up and down the rivers Indus and Sutlej; the said Governments being now of opinion that, owing to the inexperience of the people of these countries in such matters, the mode af levying duties then proposed (*viz.* on the value and quantity of goods) could not fail to give rise to mutual misunderstandings and reclamations, have, with a view to prevent these results, determined to substitute a toll, which shall be levied on all boats, with whatever merchandize laden. The following articles have therefore been adopted as supplementary to the former treaty; and, in conformity with

them, each Government engages that the toll shall be levied, and its amount neither be increased nor diminished except by mutual consent.

Article 1.—A toll of 570 Rs. shall be levied on all boats laden with merchandize in transit on the rivers Indus and Sutlej between the sea and Roper, without reference to their size, or to the weight or value of their cargo; the above toll to be divided among the different States in proportion to the extent of territory which they possess on the banks of these rivers.

Article 2.—The portion of the above toll appertaining to the Lahore Chief in right of his territory on both banks of these rivers, as determined in the subjoined scale, shall be levied opposite to Mithenkot on boats coming from the sea towards Roper, and in the vicinity of Hurree-kee-Petten on boats going from Roper towards the sea, and at no other place:—

In right of territory on the right bank of the rivers Indus and Sutlej, 155 Rs. 4 ans.	In right of territory on the left bank of the rivers Indus and Sutlej, the Maharaja's share, of 67 Rs. 15 ans 9 pie.

Article 3.—In order to facilitate the realization of the toll due to the different States, as well as for the speedy and satisfactory adjustment of any disputes which may arise connected with the safety of the navigation and the welfare of the trade by the new route, a British officer will reside opposite to Mithenkot, and a native agent on the part of the British Government opposite to Hurree-kee-Petten. These officers will be subject to the orders of the British agent at

Loodhiana; and the agents who may be appointed to reside at those places on the part of the other States concerned in the navigation, *viz.* Bháwlpoor and Sindh, together with those of Lahore, will co-operate with them in the execution of their duties.

Article 4 — In order to guard against imposition on the part of merchants in making false complaints of being plundered of property which formed no part of their cargoes, they are required, when taking out their passports, to produce an invoice of their cargo, which, being duly authenticated, a copy of it will be annexed to their passports; and wherever their boats may be brought to for the night, they are required to give immediate notice to the Thanadars or officers of the place, and request protection for themselves, at the same time showing the passports they may have received at Mithenkot or Hurree-kee, as the case may be.

Article 5 — Such parts of the 5th, 6th, 9th, and 10th, articles of the treaty of the 26th of December, 1832, as have reference to the fixing a duty on the value and quantity of merchandize, and to the mode of its collection, are hereby rescinded, and the foregoing articles substituted in their place, agreeably to which and the conditions of the preamble, the toll will be levied.

N. B.—A distribution of the shares due to the British protected States and the feudatories of the Muharaja on the left bank of the Sutlej will be determined hereafter.

APPENDIX XV.

INDUS AND SUTLEJ TOLL AGREEMENT OF 1839.

Agreement entered into with the Government of Lahore, regarding the Duties to be levied on the Transit of Merchandize by the Rivers Sutlej and Indus, in modification of the Supplementary Articles of the Treaty of 1832.

(Dated 19th May, 1839.)

OBJECTIONS having been urged against the levy of the same duty on a boat of a small as on one of a large size, and the merchants having solicited that the duties might be levied on the maundage, or measurement, of the boats, or on the value of the goods, it is therefore agreed, that hereafter the whole duty shall be paid at one place, and either at Loodiana, or Ferozpoor, or at Mithenkot; and that the duty be levied on the merchandize, and not on the boats, as follows:—

Pushmeena, - -	*per maund*	10 rupees.
Opium - - -	—	$7\frac{1}{2}$ rupees.
Indigo - - -	—	$2\frac{1}{2}$ rupees.
Dried fruits - -	—	1 rupee.
Superior silks, muslins, broad-cloth, &c.		6 annas.
Inferior silks, cottons, chintzes -		4 annas.

On Exports from the Punjab.

Sugar, ghee, oil, drugs, ginger, saffron, and cotton - -	*per maund*	4 annas.
Madder - - -	—	8 annas.
Grain - - -	—	2 annas.

On Imports from Bombay.

All Imports whatever, - *per maund* 4 annas.

APPENDIX XVI.

INDUS AND SUTLEJ TOLL AGREEMENT OF 1840.

Treaty between the Lahore and British Governments, regarding the levy of Transit Duties on Boats navigating the Sutlej and Indus. (Dated 27th June, 1840.)

FORMERLY a treaty was executed by the Right Honorable Lord W. Cavendish Bentinck, the Governor General of India, on the 14th of Poos Sumbut, 1889 (corresponding with A. D. 1832), through Colonel, then Captain Wade, concerning the navigation of the Sutlej and the Scinde rivers in the Khalsa territory, in concurrence with the wishes of both the friendly and allied Governments. Another treaty on the subject was subsequently executed, through the same officer, in Simbit, 1891 (corresponding with A. D. 1834), fixing a duty on every mercantile boat, independent of the quantity of its freight and the nature of its merchandize. A third treaty was executed on this subject, in accordance with the wishes of both Governments, on the arrival of Mr. Clerk, Agent to the Governor General at the Durbar, in May, 1839, adjusting the rate of duties on merchandize according to quantity and kind ; and it was also specified, that no further reduction of those rates should be proposed between the two Governments. On the visit of that gentleman to the Khalsa Durbar at Amrutsir, in Jith Sumbut, 1897 (corresponding with May, 1840), the difficulties and inconveniences which seemed to result to trade under the system proposed last year, in consequence of the obstruction to boats for the purpose of search, and the ignorance of traders, and the difficulty of adjusting duties according to the different kinds of articles

attainment of his object, to pay without fail to the Muharaja the sum of two lakhs of rupees, of the Nanukshahee or Kuldar currency, calculating from the date on which the Sikh troops may be dispatched for the purpose of reinstating his Majesty in Cabool, in consideration of the Muharaja stationing a force of not less than 5000 men, cavalry and infantry, of the Mahomedan persuasion, within the limits of the Peshawur territory, for the support of the Shah, and to be sent to the aid of his Majesty, whenever the British Government, in concert and counsel with the Muharaja, shall deem their aid necessary; and when any matter of great importance may arise to the westward, such measures will be adopted with regard to it as may seem expedient and proper at the time to the British and Sikh Governments. In the event of the Muharaja's requiring the aid of any of the Shah's troops, a deduction shall be made from the subsidy proportioned to the period for which such aid may be afforded, and the British Government holds itself responsible for the punctual payment of the above sum annually to the Muharaja, so long as the provisions of this treaty are duly observed.

Article 16.—Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk agrees to relinquish for himself, his heirs, and successors, all claims of supremacy and arrears of tribute over the country now held by the Ameers of Scinde, (which will continue to belong to the Ameers and their successors in perpetuity,) on condition of the payment to him by the Ameers of such a sum as may be determined under the mediation of the British Government; 1,500,000 of rupees of such payment being made over by him to Muharaja Runjeet Singh. On these payments being completed, article 4th of the treaty of the 12th March, 1833 *, will be considered cancelled, and the customary inter-

* Between Shah Shooja and Runjeet Singh.

change of letters and suitable presents between the Muharaja and the Ameers of Scinde shall be maintained as heretofore.

Article 17.—When Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk shall have succeeded in establishing his authority in Afghanistan, he shall not attack or molest his nephew, the ruler of Herat, in the possession of the territories now subject to his Government.

Article 18.—Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk binds himself, his heirs, and successors, to refrain from entering into negotiations with any foreign State without the knowledge and consent of the British and Sikh Governments, and to oppose any power having the design to invade the British and Sikh territories by force of arms, to the utmost of his ability.

The three powers, parties to this treaty, namely, the British Government, Muharaja Runjeet Singh, and Shah Shooja-ool Moolk, cordially agree to the foregoing articles. There shall be no deviations from them, and in that case the present treaty shall be considered binding for ever, and this treaty shall come into operation from and after the date on which the seals and signatures of the three contracting parties shall have been affixed thereto.

Done at Lahore, this 26th day of June, in the year of our Lord 1838, corresponding with the 15th of the month of Assarh 1895, era of Bikurmajeet.

Ratified by the Right Honorable the Governor General at Simla, on the 23rd day of July, A. D. 1838.

(Signed) AUCKLAND.
RUNJEET SINGH.
SHOOJA-OOL-MOOLK.

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between the British Government and the Muharaja through Captain Wade.

Article 5.—When the Shah shall have established his authority in Cabool and Candahar, he will annually send the Muharaja the following articles, *viz.*,—55 high-bred horses of approved color, and pleasant paces; 11 Persian scimitars; 7 Persian poignards; 25 good mules; fruits of various kinds, both dry and fresh; and Sirdas or Musk melons, of a sweet and delicate flavour (to be sent throughout the year by the way of the Cabool river to Peshawur); grapes, pomegranates, apples, quinces, almonds, raisins, pistahs or chestnuts, an abundant supply of each; as well as pieces of satin of every colour; chogas of fur; kimkhabs wrought with gold and silver; and Persian carpets, altogether to the number of 101 pieces,—all these articles the Shah will continue to send every year to the Muharaja.

Article 6.—Each party shall address the other on terms of equality.

Article 7.—Merchants of Afghanistan who may be desirous of trading to Lahore, Umrutsir, or any other parts of the Muharaja's possessions, shall not be stopped or molested on their way; on the contrary, strict orders shall be issued to facilitate their intercourse, and the Muharaja engages to observe the same line of conduct on his part, in respect to traders who may wish to proceed to Afghanistan.

Article 8.—The Muharaja will yearly send to the Shah the following articles in the way of friendship:—55 pieces of shawls; 25 pieces of muslin; 11 dooputtahs; 5 pieces of kimkhab; 5 scarfs; 5 turbans; 55 loads of Bareh rice (peculiar to Peshawur.)

Article 9.—Any of the Muharaja's officers, who may be deputed to Afghanistan to purchase horses, or on any other business, as well as those who may be sent by the Shah into the Punjab, for the purpose of purchasing piece goods, or

shawls, &c., to the amount of 11,000 rupees, will be treated by both sides with due attention, and every facility will be afforded to them in the execution of their commission.

Article 10.—Whenever the armies of the two States may happen to be assembled at the same place, on no account shall the slaughter of kine be permitted to take place.

Article 11.—In the event of the Shah taking an auxiliary force from the Muharaja, whatever booty may be acquired from the Barekzais in jewels, horses, arms, great and small, shall be equally divided between the two contracting parties. If the Shah should succeed in obtaining possession of their property, without the assistance of the Muharaja's troops, the Shah agrees to send a portion of it by his own agent to the Muharaja in the way of friendship.

Article 12.—An exchange of missions charged with letters and presents shall constantly take place between the two parties.

Article 13.—Should the Muharaja require the aid of any of the Shah's troops in furtherance of the objects contemplated by this treaty, the Shah engages to send a force commanded by one of his principal officers: in like manner the Muharaja will furnish the Shah, when required, with an auxiliary force, composed of Mahomedans, and commanded by one of the principal officers, as far as Cabool, in furtherance of the objects contemplated by this treaty. When the Muharaja may go to Peshawur, the Shah will depute a Shahzadah to visit him, on which occasions the Muharaja will receive and dismiss him with the honor and consideration due to his rank and dignity.

Article 14.—The friends and enemies of each of the three high powers, that is to say, the British and Sikh Governments, and Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk, shall be the friends and enemies of all.

Article 15.—Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk engages, after the

APPENDIX XIV.

THE TRIPARTITE TREATY WITH RUNJEET SINGH AND SHAH SHOOJA OF 1838.

Treaty of Alliance and friendship between Muharaja Runjeet Singh and Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk, with the approbation of, and in concert with the British Government.

(Done at Lahore, 26th June, 1838, signed at Simla, 25th June, 1838.)

WHEREAS a treaty was formerly concluded between Muharaja Runjeet Singh and Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk, consisting of fourteen articles, exclusive of the preamble and the conclusion : And whereas the execution of the provisions of the said treaty was suspended for certain reasons : And whereas at this time, Mr. W. H. Macnaghten having been deputed by the Right Honorable George Lord Auckland, G. C. B., Governor General of India, to the presence of Muharaja Runjeet Singh, and vested with full powers to form a treaty, in a manner consistent with the friendly engagements subsisting between the two States, the treaty aforesaid is revived, and concluded with certain modifications, and four new articles have been added thereto, with the approbation of, and in concert with the British Government, the provisions whereof, ascertained in the following eighteen articles, will be duly and faithfully observed :—

Article 1.—Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk disclaims all title on the part of himself, his heirs and successors, and all the Suddozies, to all the territories lying on either bank of the river Indus, that may be possessed by the Muharaja, *viz.*, Cashmeer, including its limits, E., W., N., S., together with

the fort of Attok, Chuch Huzara, Khubul, Umb, with its dependencies, on the left bank of the aforesaid river, and on the right bank Peshawur, with the Eusufzaee territory, the Khutuks, Husht Nuggur, Mitchnee, Kohat, Hunggoo, and all places dependent on Peshawur, as far as the Khyber pass, Bunnoo, the Vuzeeree territory, Dowr-Tank, Gurang, Kalabagh and Khooshalghur, with their dependent districts, Derah Ismaeel Khan, and its dependency, Kot Mithen, Oomur Kot, and their dependent territory; Sunghur, Hur-round-Dajul, Hajeepore, Rajenpore, and the three Kutches, as well as Munkehra, with its district, and the province of Mooltan, situated on the left bank. These countries and places are considered to be the property, and to form the estate, of the Muharaja: the Shah neither has nor will have any concern with them; they belong to the Muharaja and his posterity from generation to generation.

Article 2.—The people of the country on the other side of Khyber will not be suffered to commit robberies, or aggressions, or any disturbances on this side. If any defaulter of either State, who has embezzled the revenue, take refuge in the territory of the other, each party engages to surrender him, and no person shall obstruct the passage of the stream which issues out of the Khyber defile, and supplies the fort of Futtigurh with water according to ancient usage.

Article 3.—As, agreeably to the treaty established between the British Government and the Muharaja, no one can cross from the left to the right bank of the Sutlej without a passport from the Muharaja, the same rule shall be observed regarding the passage of the Indus, whose waters join the Sutlej, and no one shall be allowed to cross the Indus without the Muharaja's permission.

Article 4.—Regarding Shikarpore and the territory of Scinde, on the right bank of the Indus, the Shah will agree to abide by whatever may be settled as right and proper, in conformity with the happy relations of friendship subsisting

freighted in these boats, were all stated ; and that gentleman proposed to revise that system, by fixing a scale of duties proportionate to the measurement of boats, and not on the kind of commodities, if this arrangement should be approved of by both Governments. Having reported to his Government the circumstance of the case, he now drew up a schedule of the rate of duties on the mercantile boats navigating the rivers Scinde and Sutlej, and forwarded it for the consideration of this friendly Durbar ; the Khalsa Government, therefore, with a due regard to the established alliance, having added a few sentences in accordance with the late treaties, and agreeably to what it is already well understood, has signed and sealed the schedule ; and it shall never be liable to any contradiction, difference, change, or alteration, without the concurrence and consent of both Governments, in consideration of mutual advantages, upon condition it does not interfere with the established custom duties at Amrutsir, Lahore, and other inland places, or the other rivers in the Khalsa territory.

Article 1.—Grain, wood, limestone, will be free from duty.

Article 2.—With exception of the above, every commodity to pay duty according to the measurement of the boat.

Article 3.—Duty on a boat not exceeding 50 maunds of freight proceeding from the foot of the Hills, Rooper, or Loodiana to Mithenkot or Rojhan, or from Rojhan or Mithenkot to the foot of the Hills, Rooper, or Loodiana, will be 50 rupees ; *viz.*

From the foot of the Hills to Ferozepoor, or back	20 Rupees
From Ferozepoor to Buhawulpoor, or back ...	15
From Buhawulpoor to Mithenkot or Rojhan, or back	15
The whole trip, up or down	50 Rupees.

Duty on a boat above 250 maunds, but not exceeding 500 maunds: from the foot of the Hills, Rooper, or Loodiana to Mithenkot or Rojhan, or from Rojhan or Mithenkot to the foot of the Hills, Rooper, or Loodiana, will be 100 rupees, *viz.*

From the foot of the Hills to Ferozepoor, or back 40 Rupees
From Ferozepoor to Buhawulpoor, or back ... 30
From Buhawulpoor to Mithenkot or Rojhan, or back 30

The whole trip, up or down 100 Rupees.

Duty on all boats above 500 maunds will be 150 rupees; *viz.*

From the foot of the Hills to Ferozepoor, or back 60 Rupees
From Ferozepoor to Buhawulpoor, or back ... 45
From Buhawulpoor to Mithenkot or Rojhan, or back 45

The whole trip, up or down 150 Rupees.

Article 4.—Boats to be classed 1, 2, or 3, and the same to be written on the boat, and every boat to be registered.

Article 5.—These duties on merchandize frequenting the Sutlej and Scinde are not to interfere with the duties on the banks of other rivers, or with the established inland custom-houses throughout the Khalsa territory, which will remain on their usual footing.

Dated 13th Assar Sumbut, 1897, corresponding with 27th June, 1840.

APPENDIX XVII.

DECLARATION OF WAR OF 1845.

Proclamation by the Governor General of India.

Camp, Lushkuree Khan ke Serai,
December 13th, 1845.

THE British Government has ever been on terms of friendship with that of the Punjab.

In the year 1809, a treaty of amity and concord was concluded between the British Government and the late Muharaja Runjeet Singh, the conditions of which have always been faithfully observed by the British Government, and were scrupulously fulfilled by the late Muharaja.

The same friendly relations have been maintained with the successors of Muharaja Runjeet Singh by the British Government up to the present time.

Since the death of the late Muharaja Shere Singh, the disorganized state of the Lahore Government has made it incumbent on the Governor General in Council to adopt precautionary measures for the protection of the British frontier: the nature of these measures, and the cause of their adoption, were, at the time, fully explained to the Lahore Durbar.

Notwithstanding the disorganized state of the Lahore Government during the last two years, and many most unfriendly proceedings on the part of the Durbar, the Governor General in Council has continued to evince his desire to maintain the relations of amity and concord which had so long existed between the two States, for the mutual interests and happiness of both. He has shown, on every occasion,

the utmost forbearance, from consideration to the helpless state of the infant Muharaja, Dhuleep Singh, whom the British Government had recognized as the successor to the late Muharaja Shere Singh.

The Governor General in Council sincerely desired to see a strong Sikh Government re-established in the Punjab, able to control its army, and to protect its subjects; he had not, up to the present moment, abandoned the hope of seeing that important object effected by the patriotic efforts of the Chiefs and people of that country.

The Sikh army recently marched from Lahore towards the British frontier, as it was alleged, by the orders of the Durbar, for the purpose of invading the British territory.

The Governor General's agent, by direction of the Governor General, demanded an explanation of this movement, and no reply being returned within a reasonable time, the demand was repeated. The Governor General, unwilling to believe in the hostile intentions of the Sikh Government, to which no provocation had been given, refrained from taking any measures which might have a tendency to embarrass the Government of the Muharaja, or to induce collision between the two States.

When no reply was given to the repeated demand for explanation, while active military preparations were continued at Lahore, the Governor General considered it necessary to order the advance of troops towards the frontier, to reinforce the frontier posts.

The Sikh army has now, without a shadow of provocation, invaded the British territories.

The Governor General must therefore take measures for effectually protecting the British provinces, for vindicating the authority of the British Government, and for punishing the violators of treaties and the disturbers of the public peace.

The Governor General hereby declares the possessions of Muharaja Dhuleep Singh, on the left or British bank of the Sutlej, confiscated and annexed to the British territories.

The Governor General will respect the existing rights of all Jagheerdars, Zemindars, and tenants in the said possessions, who, by the course they now pursue, evince their fidelity to the British Government.

The Governor General hereby calls upon all the Chiefs and Sirdars in the protected territories to co-operate cordially with the British Government for the punishment of the common enemy, and for the maintenance of order in these States. Those of the Chiefs who show alacrity and fidelity in the discharge of this duty, which they owe to the protecting power, will find their interests promoted thereby; and those who take a contrary course will be treated as enemies to the British Government, and will be punished accordingly.

The inhabitants of all the territories on the left bank of the Sutlej are hereby directed to abide peaceably in their respective villages, where they will receive efficient protection by the British Government. All parties of men found in armed bands, who can give no satisfactory account of their proceedings, will be treated as disturbers of the public peace.

All subjects of the British Government, and those who possess estates on both sides the river Sutlej, who, by their faithful adherence to the British Government, may be liable to sustain loss, shall be indemnified and secured in all their just rights and privileges.

On the other hand, all subjects of the British Government who shall continue in the service of the Lahore State, and who disobey the proclamation by not immediately returning to their allegiance, will be liable to have their property on this side the Sutlej confiscated, and themselves declared to be aliens and enemies of the British Government.

APPENDIX XVIII.

FIRST TREATY WITH LAHORE OF 1846.

Treaty between the British Government and the State of Lahore, concluded at Lahore, on March 9th, 1846.

WHEREAS the treaty of amity and concord, which was concluded between the British Government and the late Muharaja Runjeet Singh, the ruler of Lahore, in 1809, was broken by the unprovoked aggression on the British provinces of the Sikh army, in December last: And whereas, on that occasion, by the proclamation dated the 13th of December, the territories then in the occupation of the Muharaja of Lahore, on the left or British bank of the river Sutlej, were confiscated and annexed to the British provinces; and, since that time, hostile operations have been prosecuted by the two Governments, the one against the other, which have resulted in the occupation of Lahore by the British troops: And whereas it has been determined that, upon certain conditions, peace shall be re-established between the two Governments, the following treaty of peace between the Honorable English East India Company, and Muharaja Dhuleep Singh Bahadoor, and his children, heirs, and successors, has been concluded, on the part of the Honorable Company, by Frederick Currie, Esq., and Brevet Major Henry Montgomery Lawrence, by virtue of full powers to that effect vested in them by the Right Honorable Sir Henry Hardinge, G. C. B., one of Her Britannic Majesty's most Honorable Privy Council, Governor General, appointed by the Honorable Company to direct and control all their affairs in the East Indies: and, on the part of his Highness the Muharaja Dhuleep

Singh, by Bhaee Ram Singh, Raja Lal Singh, Sirdar Tej Singh, Sirdar Chutter Singh Attareewalla, Sirdar Runjore Singh Mujeetheea, Dewan Deena Nath, and Fakeer Noorooddeen, vested with full powers and authority on the part of his Highness.

Article 1.—There shall be perpetual peace and friendship between the British Government, on the one part, and Muharaja Dhuleep Singh, his heirs and successors, on the other.

Article 2.—The Muharaja of Lahore renounces for himself, his heirs and successors, all claim to, or connection with, the territories lying to the south of the river Sutlej, and engages never to have any concern with those territories, or the inhabitants thereof.

Article 3.—The Muharaja cedes to the Honorable Company, in perpetual sovereignty, all his forts, territories, and rights, in the Dooab, or country, hill and plain, situate between the rivers Beas and Sutlej.

Article 4.—The British Government having demanded from the Lahore State, as indemnification for the expenses of the war, in addition to the cession of territory described in Article 3, payment of one and a half crores of rupees; and the Lahore Government being unable to pay the whole of this sum at this time, or to give security satisfactory to the British Government for its eventual payment; the Muharaja cedes to the Honorable Company, in perpetual sovereignty, as equivalent for one crore of rupees, all his forts, territories, rights, and interests, in the hill countries which are situate between the rivers Beas and Indus, including the provinces of Cashmere and Hazarah.

Article 5.—The Muharaja will pay to the British Government the sum of fifty lacs of rupees, on or before the ratification of this treaty.

Article 6.—The Muharaja engages to disband the mutinous troops of the Lahore army, taking from them their

arms; and his Highness agrees to reorganize the regular, or Aieen, regiments of infantry, upon the system, and according to the regulations as to pay and allowances, observed in the time of the late Muharaja Runjeet Singh. The Muharaja further engages to pay up all arrears to the soldiers that are discharged under the provisions of this article.

Article 7.—The regular army of the Lahore State shall henceforth be limited to 25 battalions of infantry, consisting of 800 bayonets each, with 12,000 cavalry: this number at no time to be exceeded without the concurrence of the British Government. Should it be necessary at any time, for any special cause, that this force should be increased, the cause shall be fully explained to the British Government; and, when the special necessity shall have passed, the regular troops shall be again reduced to the standard specified in the former clause of this article.

Article 8.—The Muharaja will surrendar to the British Government all the guns, thirty-six in number, which have been pointed against the British troops, and which, having been placed on the right bank of the river Sutlej, were not captured at the battle of Sobraon.

Article 9.—The control of the rivers Beas and Sutlej, with the continuations of the latter river, commonly called the Garrah and Punjnud, to the confluence of the Indus at Mithenkot, and the control of the Indus from Mithenkot to the borders of Beloochistan, shall, in respect to tolls and ferries, rest with the British Government. The provisions of this article shall not interfere with the passage of boats belonging to the Lahore Government on the said rivers, for the purposes of traffic, or the conveyance of passengers up and down their course. Regarding the ferries between the two countries respectively, at the several ghats of the said rivers, it is agreed that the British Government, after de-

fraying all the expenses of management and establishments, shall account to the Lahore Government for one half of the net profits of the ferry collections. The provisions of this article have no reference to the ferries on that part of the river Sutlej which forms the boundary of Bahawulpore and Lahore respectively.

Article 10.—If the British Government should, at any time, desire to pass troops through the territories of his Highness the Muharaja for the protection of the British territories, or those of their allies, the British troops shall, on such special occasions, due notice being given, be allowed to pass through the Lahore territories. In such case, the officers of the Lahore State will afford facilities in providing supplies and boats for the passage of rivers; and the British Government will pay the full price of all such provisions and boats, and will make fair compensation for all private property that may be endamaged. The British Government will moreover observe all due consideration to the religious feelings of the inhabitants of those tracts through which the army may pass.

Article 11.—The Muharaja engages never to take, or retain, in his service, any British subject, nor the subject of any European or American State, without the consent of the British Government.

Article 12.—In consideration of the services rendered by Raja Golab Singh of Jummoo to the Lahore State, towards procuring the restoration of the relations of amity between the Lahore and British Governments, the Muharaja hereby agrees to recognize the independent sovereignty of Raja Golab Singh, in such territories and districts in the hills as may be made over to the said Raja Golab Singh by separate agreement between himself and the British Government, with the dependencies thereof, which may have been in the Raja's possession since the time of the late Muharaja Kurruk Singh: and the British Government, in consideration of the good

conduct of Raja Golab Singh, also agrees to recognise his independence in such territories, and to admit him to the privileges of a separate treaty with the British Government.

Article 13.—In the event of any dispute or difference arising between the Lahore State and Raja Golab Singh, the same shall be referred to the arbitration of the British Government; and by its decision the Muharaja engages to abide.

Article 14.—The limits of the Lahore territories shall not be, at any time, changed, without the concurrence of the British Government.

Article 15.—The British Government will not exercise any interference in the internal administration of the Lahore State; but in all cases or questions which may be referred to the British Government, the Governor General will give the aid of his advice and good offices for the furtherance of the interests of the Lahore Government.

Article 16.—The subjects of either State shall, on visiting the territories of the other, be on the footing of the subjects of the most favored nation.

This treaty, consisting of sixteen articles, has been this day settled by Frederick Currie, Esq., and Brevet Major Henry Montgomery Lawrence, acting under the directions of the Right Honorable Sir Henry Hardinge, G. C. B., Governor General, on the part of the British Government; and by Bhaee Ram Singh, Raja Lal Singh, Sirdar Tej Singh, Sirdar Chutter Singh Attareewalla, Sirdar Runjore Singh Mujeetheea, Dewan Deena Nath, and Fakeer Noor-ood-deen, on the part of the Muharaja Dhuleep Singh; and the said treaty has been this day ratified by the seal of the Right Honorable Sir Henry Hardinge, G. C. B., Governor General, and by that of his Highness Muharaja Dhuleep Singh.

Done at Lahore, this 9th day of March, in the year of our Lord 1846, corresponding with the 10th day of Rubbee-ool-awul, 1262, Hijree, and ratified on the same day.

APPENDIX XIX.

SUPPLEMENTARY ARTICLES TO FIRST TREATY WITH LAHORE OF 1846.

Articles of Agreement concluded between the British Government and the Lahore Durbar, on the 11th of March, 1846.

WHEREAS the Lahore Government has solicited the Governor General to leave a British force at Lahore, for the protection of the Muharaja's person and of the capital, till the reorganization of the Lahore army, according to the provisions of article 6 of the treaty of Lahore, dated the 9th instant: And whereas the Governor General has, on certain conditions, consented to the measure: And whereas it is expedient that certain matters concerning the territories ceded by articles 3 and 4 of the aforesaid treaty should be specifically determined; the following eight articles of agreement have this day been concluded between the afore-mentioned contracting parties.

Article 1.—The British Government shall leave at Lahore, till the close of the current year, A. D. 1846, such force as shall seem to the Governor General adequate for the purpose of protecting the person of the Muharaja, and the inhabitants of the city of Lahore, during the reorganization of the Sikh army, in accordance with the provisions of article 6 of the treaty of Lahore; that force to be withdrawn at any convenient time before the expiration of the year, if the object to be fulfilled shall, in the opinion of the Durbar, have been obtained; but the force shall not be detained at Lahore beyond the expiration of the current year.

Article 2.—The Lahore Government agrees that the force left at Lahore, for the purpose specified in the foregoing article, shall be placed in full possession of the fort and the city of Lahore, and that the Lahore troops shall be removed from within the city. The Lahore Government engages to furnish convenient quarters for the officers and men of the said force, and to pay to the British Government all the extra expenses, in regard to the said force, which may be incurred by the British Government, in consequence of their troops being employed away from their own cantonments, and in a foreign territory.

Article 3.—The Lahore Government engages to apply itself immediately and earnestly to the reorganization of its army, according to the prescribed conditions, and to communicate fully with the British authorities left at Lahore, as to the progress of such reorganization, and as to the location of the troops.

Article 4.—If the Lahore Government fails in the performance of the conditions of the foregoing article, the British Government shall be at liberty to withdraw the force from Lahore, at any time before the expiration of the period specified in article 1.

Article 5.—The British Government agrees to respect the *bona fide* rights of those Jagheerdars within the territories ceded by articles 3 and 4 of the treaty of Lahore, dated 9th instant, who were attached to the families of the late Muharaja Runjeet Singh, Kurruk Singh, and Shere Singh; and the British Government will maintain those Jagheerdars in their *bona fide* possessions, during their lives.

Article 6.—The Lahore Government shall receive the assistance of the British local authorities in recovering the arrears of revenue justly due to the Lahore Government from their Kardars and managers in the territories ceded by the provisions of articles 3 and 4 of the treaty of Lahore, to the

close of the Khureef harvest of the current year, viz. 1902, of the Sumbut Bikramajeet.

Article 7.—The Lahore Government shall be at liberty to remove from the forts in the territories specified in the foregoing article, all treasure and state property, with the exception of guns. Should, however, the British Government desire to retain any part of the said property, they shall be at liberty to do so, paying for the same at a fair valuation; and the British officers shall give their assistance to the Lahore Government, in disposing on the spot of such part of the aforesaid property as the Lahore Government may not wish to remove, and the British officers may not desire to retain.

Article 8.—Commissioners shall be immediately appointed by the two Governments, to settle and lay down the boundary between the two States, as defined by article 4 of the treaty of Lahore, dated March 9th, 1846.

APPENDIX XX.

TREATY WITH GOLAB SINGH OF 1846.

Treaty between the British Government and Muharaja Golab Singh, concluded at Umrutsir, on March 16th, 1846.

Treaty between the British Government on the one part, and Muharaja Golab Singh of Jummoo on the other, concluded, on the part of the British Government, by Frederick Currie, Esq., and Brevet Major Henry Montgomery Lawrence, acting under the orders of the Right Honorable Sir Henry

Hardinge, G. C. B., one of Her Britannic Majesty's most Honorable Privy Council, Governor General, appointed by the Honorable Company to direct and control all their affairs in the East Indies, and by Muharaja Golab Sing in person.

Article 1.—The British Government transfers and makes over, for ever, in independent possession, to Muharaja Golab Singh, and the male heirs of his body, all the hilly or mountainous country, with its dependencies, situated to the eastward of the river Indus, and westward of the river Ravee, including Chumba and excluding Lahool, being part of the territory ceded to the British Government by the Lahore State, according to the provisions of article 4 of the treaty of Lahore, dated March 9th, 1846.

Article 2.—The eastern boundary of the tract transferred by the foregoing article to Muharaja Golab Singh shall be laid down by commissioners appointed by the British Government and Muharaja Golab Singh respectively, for that purpose, and shall be defined in a separate engagement, after survey.

Article 3.—In consideration of the transfer made to him and his heirs by the provisions of the foregoing articles, Muharaja Golab Singh will pay to the British Government the sum of seventy-five lacs of rupees (Nanukshahee), fifty lacs to be paid on ratification of this treaty, and twenty-five lacs on or before the 1st of October of the current year, A. D. 1846.

Article 4.—The limits of the territories of Muharaja Golab Sing shall not be at any time changed without the concurrence of the British Government.

Article 5.—Muharaja Golab Sing will refer to the arbitration of the British Government any disputes or questions that may arise between himself and the Government of Lahore, or any other neighbouring State, and will abide by the decision of the British Government.

Article 6.—Muharaja Golab Singh engages for himself and heirs, to join, with the whole of his military force, the British troops, when employed within the hills, or in the territories adjoining his possessions.

Article 7.—Muharaja Golab Singh engages never to take, or retain, in his service any British subject of any European or American State, without the consent of the British Government.

Article 8.—Muharaja Golab Sing engages to respect, in regard to the territory transferred to him, the provisions of articles 5, 6, and 7, of the separate engagement between the British Government and the Lahore Durbar, dated March 11th, 1846.

Article 9.—The British Government will give its aid to Muharaja Golab Singh, in protecting his territories from external enemies.

Article 10.—Muharaja Golab Singh acknowledges the supremacy of the British Government, and will, in token of such supremacy, present annually to the British Government one horse, twelve perfect shawl goats of approved breed (six male, and six female), and three pairs of Cashmere shawls.

This treaty, consisting of ten articles, has been this day settled by Frederick Currie, Esq., and Brevet Major Henry Montgomery Lawrence, acting under the directions of the Right Honorable Sir Henry Hardinge, G. C. B., Governor General, on the part of the British Government, and by Muharaja Golab Sing in person; and the said treaty has been this day ratified by the seal of the Right Honorable Sir Henry Hardinge, G. C. B., Governor General.

Done at Umrutsir, this 16th day of March, in the year of our Lord 1846, corresponding with the 17th day of Rubbee-ool-awul, 1262, Hijree.

APPENDIX XXI.

SECOND TREATY WITH LAHORE OF 1846.

Foreign Department, Camp, Bhyrowal Ghat, on the left Bank of the Beas, the 22nd December, 1846.

THE late Governor of Cashmere, on the part of the Lahore State, Sheik Imam Ooddeen, having resisted by force of arms the occupation of the province of Cashmere by Muharaja Golab Singh, the Lahore Government was called upon to coerce their subject, and to make over the province to the representative of the British Government, in fulfilment of the conditions of the treaty of Lahore, dated 9th March, 1846.

A British force was employed to support and aid, if necessary, the combined forces of the Lahore State and Muharaja Golab Singh in the above operations.

Sheik Imam Ooddeen intimated to the British Government that he was acting under orders received from the Lahore Durbar in the course he was pursuing; and stated that the insurrection had been instigated by written instructions received by him from the Vizier Raja Lall Singh.

Sheik Imam Ooddeen surrendered to the British agent on guarantee from that officer, that if the Sheik could, as he asserted, prove that his acts were in accordance with his instructions, and that the opposition was instigated by the Lahore minister, the Durbar should not be permitted to inflict upon him, either in his person or his property, any penalty on account of his conduct on this occasion. The British agent pledged his Government to a full and impartial investigation of the matter.

A public inquiry was instituted into the facts adduced by Sheik Imam Ooddeen, and it was fully established that Raja Lall Singh did secretly instigate the Sheik to oppose the occupation by Muharaja Golab Singh of the province of Cashmere.

The Governor General immediately demanded that the ministers and Chiefs of the Lahore State should depose and exile to the British provinces the Vizier Raja Lall Singh.

His Lordship consented to accept the deposition of Raja Lall Singh as an atonement for the attempt to infringe the treaty by the secret intrigues and machinations of the Vizier. It was not proved that the other members of the Durbar had cognizance of the Vizier's proceedings; and the conduct of the Sirdars, and of the Sikh army in the late operations for quelling the Cashmere insurrection, and removing the obstacles to the fulfilment of the treaty, proved that the criminality of the Vizier was not participated in by the Sikh nation.

The Ministers and Chiefs unanimously decreed, and carried into immediate effect, the deposition of the Vizier.

After a few days' deliberations, relative to the means of forming a government at Lahore, the remaining members of the Durbar, in concert with all the Sirdars and Chiefs of the State, solicited the interference and aid of the British Government for the maintenance of an administration, and the protection of the Muharaja Dhuleep Singh during the minority of his Highness.

This solicitation by the Durbar and Chiefs has led to the temporary modification of the relations between the British Government and that of Lahore, established by the treaty of the 9th March of the present year.

The terms and conditions of this modification are set forth in the following articles of agreement.

Articles of Agreement concluded between the British Government and the Lahore Durbar on 16th December, 1846.

Whereas the Lahore Durbar and the principal Chiefs and Sirdars of the State have, in express terms, communicated to the British Government their anxious desire that the Governor General should give his aid and his assistance to maintain the administration of the Lahore State during the minority of Muharaja Dhuleep Singh, and have declared this measure to be indispensable for the maintenance of the government: And whereas the Governor General has, under certain conditions, consented to give the aid and assistance solicited, the following articles of agreement, in modification of the articles of agreement executed at Lahore on the 11th March last, have been concluded, on the part of the British Government, by Frederick Currie, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, and Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Montgomery Lawrence, C. B., agent to the Governor General, North West Frontier, by virtue of full powers to that effect vested in them by the Right Honorable Viscount Hardinge, G. C. B., Governor General, and on the part of his Highness Muharaja Dhuleep Singh, by Sirdar Tej Singh, Sirdar Shere Singh, Dewan Deena Nath, Fakeer Noor-ood-deen, Raee Kishen Chund, Sirdar Runjore Singh Mujeetheea, Sirdar Utter Singh Kaleewalla, Bhaee Nidhan Singh, Sirdar Khan Singh Mujeetheea, Sirdar Shumshere Singh, Sirdar Lall Singh Morarea, Sirdar Kher Singh Sindhanwalla, Sirdar Urjun Singh Rungrnungleea, acting with the unanimous consent and concurrence of the Chiefs and Sirdars of the State assembled at Lahore.

Article 1.—All and every part of the treaty of peace between the British Government and the State of Lahore, bearing date the 9th day of March, 1846, except in so far as it may be temporarily modified in respect to clause 15 of the

said treaty by this engagement, shall remain binding upon the two Governments.

Article 2.—A British officer, with an efficient establishment of assistants, shall be appointed by the Governor General to remain at Lahore, which officer shall have full authority to direct and control all matters in every department of the State.

Article 3.—Every attention shall be paid, in conducting the administration to the feelings of the people, to preserving the national institutions and customs, and to maintain the just rights of all classes.

Article 4.—Changes in the mode and details of administration shall not be made, except when found necessary for effecting the objects set forth in the foregoing clause, and for securing the just dues of the Lahore Government. These details shall be conducted by native officers, as at present, who shall be appointed and superintended by a Council of Regency, composed of leading Chiefs and Sirdars, acting under the control and guidance of the British Resident.

Article 5.—The following persons shall in the first instance constitute the Council of Regency, *viz.*,—Sirdar Tej Singh, Sirdar Shere Singh Attareewalla, Dewan Deena Nath, Fakeer Noor-ood-deen, Sirdar Runjore Singh Mujeetheea, Bhaee Nidhan Singh, Sirdar Utter Singh Kaleewalla, Sirdar Shumshere Singh Sindhanwalla; and no change shall be made in the persons thus nominated, without the consent of the British Resident, acting under the orders of th Governor General.

Article 6.—The administration of the country shal conducted by this Council of Regency in such manner as be determined on by themselves in consultation wit British Resident, who shall have full authority to dir control the duties of every department.

Article 7.—A British force, of such strength and numbers, and in such positions, as the Governor General may think fit, shall remain at Lahore for the protection of the Muharaja, and the preservation of the peace of the country.

Article 8.—The Governor General shall be at liberty to occupy with British soldiers any fort or military post in the Lahore territories, the occupation of which may be deemed necessary by the British Government for the security of the capital, or for maintaining the peace of the country.

Article 9.—The Lahore State shall pay to the British Government twenty-two lacs of new Nanukshahee rupees of full tale and weight per annum, for the maintenance of this force, and to meet the expenses incurred by the British Government; such sum to be paid by two instalments, or 13 lacs and 20,000 in May or June, and 8 lacs and 80,000 in November or December of each year.

Article 10.—Inasmuch as it is fitting that her Highness the Muharanee, the mother of Muharaja Dhuleep Singh, should have a proper provision made for the maintenance of herself and dependents, the sum of 1 lac and 50,000 rupees shall be set apart annually for that purpose, and shall be at her Highness's disposal.

Article 11.—The provisions of this engagement shall have effect during the minority of his Highness Muharaja Dhuleep Singh, and shall cease and terminate on his Highness attaining the full age of 16 years, or on the 4th September of the year 1854; but it shall be competent to the Governor General to cause the arrangement to cease, at any period prior to the coming of age of his Highness, at which the Governor General and the Lahore Durbar may be satisfied that the interposition of the British Government is no longer necessary for maintaining the government of his Highness the Muharaja.

This agreement, consisting of eleven articles, was settled and executed at Lahore, by the officers and Chiefs and Sirdars above named, on the 16th day of December, 1846.

APPENDIX XXII.

REVENUES OF THE PUNJAB AS ESTIMATED IN 1844.

TRIBUTARY STATES.	Rupees.	Rupees.
Belaspoor. Tribute, 10,000. Under Lehna Singh...	70,000	
Sooket. Do 25,000. Do.	70,000	
Chumba. Not known. Under Golab Singh ...	2,00,000	
Rajaoree. Do. Do. ...	1,00,000	
Ludakh. Tribute, 42,000. Do. ...	1,00,000	
Iskardo. Do. 7,000. Do. ...	25,000	
		5,65,000
Note.—All of these States, excepting Belaspoor, may be regarded rather as farms held by the Chiefs than as tributary principalities; and, ordinarily, all the resources of the Chiefs being at the disposal of the government representative, the probable revenues have therefore been entered in full, instead of the mere pecuniary payment.		
LAND REVENUE.		
Farms.		
Mundee. Farm with the Raja of Mundee, who was allowed one lakh out of the four for his expenses	4,00,000	
Kooloo. The members of the family had pensions	1,20,000	
Juswan. The family had a Jagheer	1,25,000	
Kanggra. Do. not included in the farm	6,00,000	
Kotlehr. The family had a Jagheer	25,000	
Carried forward	12,70,000	5,65,000

Land Revenue—*Farms* (*continued*).	Rupees.	Rupees.
Brought forward	12,70,000	5,65,000
Seeba. The family may almost be regarded as Jagheerdars for the whole estate: they served with horse	20,000	
Noorpoor. The family had a Jagheer	3,00,000	
Hurreepoor. Do.	1,00,000	
Dutarpoor. Do.	50,000	
Kotluh. Do.	20,000	
Note.—The above were all under Lehna Singh Mujeetheea.		
Bissohlee. Family at large: was held by Raja Heera Singh	75,000	
Cashmeer. Shekh Gholam Moheiooddeen: Contract ... 21,00,000; Troops ... ... 5,00,000; Assignments ... 4,00,000	30,00,000	
Mozufferabad, &c. (Under Cashmeer.) The Mozufferabad Chief a Jagheerdar	1,00,000	
Chutch Huzara and Pukhlee Dhumtowr. Raja Golab Singh. The Gundghur and Turnowlee Chiefs have Jagheers; but they are almost independent freebooters	1,50,000	
Rawil Pindee. Deewan Hakim Raee	1,00,000	
Hussun Abdal, Khatir, and Ghebpee. Deewan Mool Raj: he lately held Chutch Huzara also	1,00,000	
Dhunnee, Kutass, and Chukkowal. Raja Golab Sing ...	1,00,000	
Peshawur. Sirdar Tej Singh. The Barukzaees have Jagheers	10,00,000	
Tank-Bunnoo. Deewan Dowlut Raee. The Chief fled; his brother a Jagheer ...	2,50,000	
Dera Ismaeel Khan. Dewan Dowlut Raee. Chief a Jagheer	4,50,000	
Mooltan, Dera Ghazee Khan, Munkehra. Deewan Sawun Mull: Contract ... 36 00,000; Troops ... 7,00,000; Assignments, &c. 2,00,000	45,00,000	
Ramnuggur, &c. Deewan Sawun Mull ...	3,00,000	
Mitta Towana. The late Dhian Singh	1,00,000	
Carried forward	119,85,000	5,65,000

Land Revenue—*Farms (continued).*	Rupees.	Rupees.
Brought forward	119,85,000	5,65,000
Bhereh Khooshab. Raja Golab Singh ...	1,00,000	
Pind Dadul Khan. Do.	50,000	
Goojrat. Do.	3,00,000	
Vuzeerabad, &c. The late Soochet Singh ...	9,00,000	
Seealkot. Raja Golab Singh	50,000	
Jalundhur Dooab. Shekh Emamooddeen ...	22,00,000	
Shekhoopoora, &c. Shekh Emamooddeen ...	2,50,000	
Cis Sutlej farms	6,50,000	
Miscellaneous farms in the Punjab	15,00,000	1,79,85,000
Religious Grants.		
Held by "Sodhees"	5,00,000	
Held by "Behdees"	4,00,000	
Miscellaneous; *viz.* Akalees, Fukeers, Brahmins, and the lands attached to Amritsir, &c. &c.	11,00,000	20,00,000
Hill Jagheers of the Jummoo Rajas.		
Jesrota, &c. Heera Singh. The Chief a Jagheer	1,25,000	
Pader, and other districts of Chumba. } Golab Singh ...	1,00,000	
Bhudurwah. Golab Singh (in Jagheer with uncle of Chumba Raja)	50,000	
Mankot. The late Soochet Singh. Family a Jagheer	50,000	
Bhuddoo. Do. Do. ...	50,000	
Bundralta. Do. Do. ...	1,25,000	
Chuneinee (Ramnuggur). } Golab Singh. Do. ...	30,000	
Jummooo and Reeassee. } Golab Singh. Families mostly refugees ...	4,00,000	
Samba. The late Sochet Singh. Family extinct or fled	40,000	
Kishtwar. Golab Singh. Family refugees ...	1,50,000	
Ukhnoor, including Chukkana, with Kerree Singh's family. } Golab Singh. Family a Jagheer. ...	50,000	
Bhimbur, The late Dhian Singh. Some members of family Jagheers; others refugees ...	1,50,000	
The Chibh-Bhow tribes. The late Dhian Singh. Family Jagheers	1,00,000	2,05,50,000
	14,20,000	

LAND REVENUE—*Jagheers.*	Rupees.	Rupees.
Brought forward	14,20,000	2,05,50,000
Kotlee. The late Dhian Singh. Fam. Jagheers	30,000	
Soonutch. Do. Family perhaps refugees	70,000	
Dangullee, Khanpoor, &c. Golab Singh. Some members of family Jagheers; others prisoners; others refugees	1,00,000	
Various Jagheers held by the Jummoo Rajas (in the plains)	5,00,000	
The Kanggra Rajas (Runbeer Chund, &c.) ...	1,00,000	
Sirdar Lehna Singh Mujeetheea	3,50,000	
Sirdar Nihal Singh Alhoowaleea	9,00,000	
Sirdar Kishen Singh (son of Jemadar Khooshal Singh)	1,20,000	
Sirdar Tej Singh	60,000	
Sirdars Sham Singh and Chutter Singh Attareewallas.	1,20,000	
Sirdar Shumsher Singh Sindhanwala	15,000	
Sirdar Urjoon Singh, and other sons of Hurree Singh	15,000	
Konwur Peshawura Singh	5,000	
Konwur Tara Singh	20,000	
Sirdar Jowahir Singh (uncle of Dhuleep Singh)	50,000	
Sirdar Munggul Singh	50,000	
Sirdar Futteh Singh Man	50,000	
Sirdar Uttur Singh Kaleeanwala	50,000	
Sirdar Hookum Singh Mulwaee	50,000	
Sirdar Behla Singh Mokul	50,000	
Sirdars Seoltan Mahomed, Syed Mahomed, and Peer Mahomed Khans	1,50,000	
Sirdar Jumalooddeen Khan.	1,00,000	
Shekh Gholam Moheeooddeen	30,000	
Fukeer Uzeezooddeen and his brothers ...	1,00,000	
Deewan Sawun Mull	20,000	
Miscellaneous	50,00,000	
		95,25,000
CUSTOMS, &c.		
Salt Mines. Raja Golab Singh	8,00,000	
Town Duties. Amritsir. The late Dhian Singh	5,50,000	
Do. Lahore. Do. ...	1,50,000	
Miscellaneous Town Duties	1,00,000	
"Abkaree" (Excise), &c. &c. Lahore	50,000	
Transit Duties. Loodiana to Peshawur ...	5,00,000	
"Mohurana" (Stamps)	2,50,000	
		24,00,000
Total		3,24,75,000

RECAPITULATION.

				Rupees.
LAND REVENUE :—				
Tributary State	...	...	...	5,65,000
Farms ...	...	...	...	1,79,85,000
Eleemosynary ...	...	...	...	20,00.000
Jagheers ...	...	...	...	95,25,000
CUSTOMS, &c. ...	...	...	...	24,00,000
	Total	...	...	3,24,75,000

APPENDIX XXIII.

THE ARMY OF LAHORE, AS RECORDED IN 1844.

The Regular Army,		Infantry Regiments.	Cavalry Regiments.	Light Artillery.	Heavy Guns.	
Commandants of Corps.	Description or race of Men.				Field	Garrison.
Sirdar Tej Singh	Sikhs	4	1	10	0	0
Gen. Pertab Singh Puteewala.	Sikhs	3	0	0	0	0
Gen. Jowala Singh ...	Inf. Sikhs; Art. Sikhs and Mahometans.	2	0	4	0	0
Shekh Emamooddeen ...	Mahometans	3	0	4	0	0
Sirdar Lehna Singh Mujeetheea.	Infantry, Sikhs; Guns chiefly Sikhs.	2	0	10	3	2
Gen. Bishen Singh ...	Mahometans; a few Sikhs	2	0	3	0	0
Gen. Golab Singh Pohoovindheea.	3 Mahometans; Guns, Sikhs and Mahometans	3*	0	14	0	0
Gen. Mehtab Singh Mujeetheea.	Inf. Sikhs; Cav. mixed; Art. Sikhs and Mah.	4	1	12	0	0
Gen. Goordut Singh Mujeetheea.	Inf. chiefly Sikhs; Guns, S. and M.	3	0	0	0	0
Col. John Holmes	Formerly under Gen. Court.	1	0	10	0	0
Gen. Dhowkul Singh	Hindoostanees; a few Sikhs.	2	0	0	0	0
Colonel Cortlandt (discharged).	Inf. Sikhs and Hind.; Guns, Sikhs and Mah.	2	0	10	0	0
Shekh Gholam Moheiooddeen.	Inf. Sikhs? Guns, Sikhs and Mahometans.	1	0	6	8	0
Carried forward		32	2	83	11	2

* Shekh Emamooddeen subsequently raised a fourth regiment.

ARMY OF LAHORE, *(continued)*.

The Regular Army.		Infantry Regiments.	Cavalry Regiments.	Light Artillery.	Heavy Guns,	
Commandants of Corps.	Description or Race of Men.				Field	Garrison.
Brought forward ...	... ...	32	2	83	11	2
Dewan Adjoodheea Pershad; Guns under Ilahee Bukhsh, General-Gen.	Inf. Sikhs; Art. Sikhs and Mahometans (Gen. Ventura).	4	2	12	22	0
Golab Singh Calcuttawala (deceased).	Sikhs	4	1	16	0	0
Deewan Jodha Ram ...	Sikhs, Mahom., Hill men (Gen. Avitabile).	4	1	12	3	0
Gen. Kanh Singh Man.	Sikhs and Mahometans ...	4	0	10	0	0
Sirdar Nehal Singh Alhoowaleea.	Inf. Sikhs and Mahom.; Art. chiefly Mahom. ...	1	0	4	11	0
Deewan Sawun Mull ...	Mahom. and some Sikhs	3	0	6	0	40
Raja Heera Singh ...	Hill men, some Mah., &c.	2	1	0	3	5
Raja Golab Singh ...	Do. Do. ...	3	0	15	0	40
Raja Soochet Singh (dec)	Do. Do. ...	2	1	4	0	10
Capt. Kooldeep Singh ...	Goorkhas	1	0	0	0	0
Commandant Bhag Singh	Sikhs and Mahomentans	0	0	6	0	0
Commandant Sheo Pershad	Do. Do. ...	0	0	8	0	0
Misser Lal Singh ...	Do. Do. ...	0	0	10	0	0
Sirdar Kishen Singh ...	Mah. and Hindoostanees	0	0	0	0	2
Gen. Kishen Singh ...	Sikhs and Mahometans	0	0	22	0	0
Sirdar Sham Shingh Attareewalla.	Do. Do. ...	0	0	0	10	0
Meean Pirthee Singh ...	Chiefly Mahometans ...	0	0	0	56	0
Gen. Mehwa Singh ...	Sikhs and Mahometans	0	0	10	10	0
Col. Ameer Chund ...	Chiefly Mahometans ...	0	0	0	10	0
Commandant Muzhur Alee	Mah. and Hindoostanees	0	0	10	0	0
Jowahir Mull Mistree (Lahore).	Mahometans; a few Sikhs.	0	0	0	20	12
Commandant Sookhoo (Singh Amritsir.)	Sikhs, and some Hindoostanees.	0	0	0	0	10
Miscellan. Garrison Guns	... ...	0	0	0	0	50
		60	8	228	156	171

Abstract of the whole Army.

Sixty Regiments Infantry, at 700	42,000	
Ramghols, Akalees	5,000	
Irreg. Levies, Garrison Companies, &c. ...	45,000	
	———	92,000 Infantry.
Eight Regiments Cavalry, at 600	4,800	
"Ghorchurras" (Horse)	12,000	
Jagheerdaree Horse	15,000	
	———	31,800 Cavalry.
Field Artillery		384 Guns.



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m. (The Sindhanwala Branch.)

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Lehna Singh. *Dead.*

unjor Singh. *Illegitimate.*

Pertab Singh.

Thakoor Singh.

Chund Kour.*

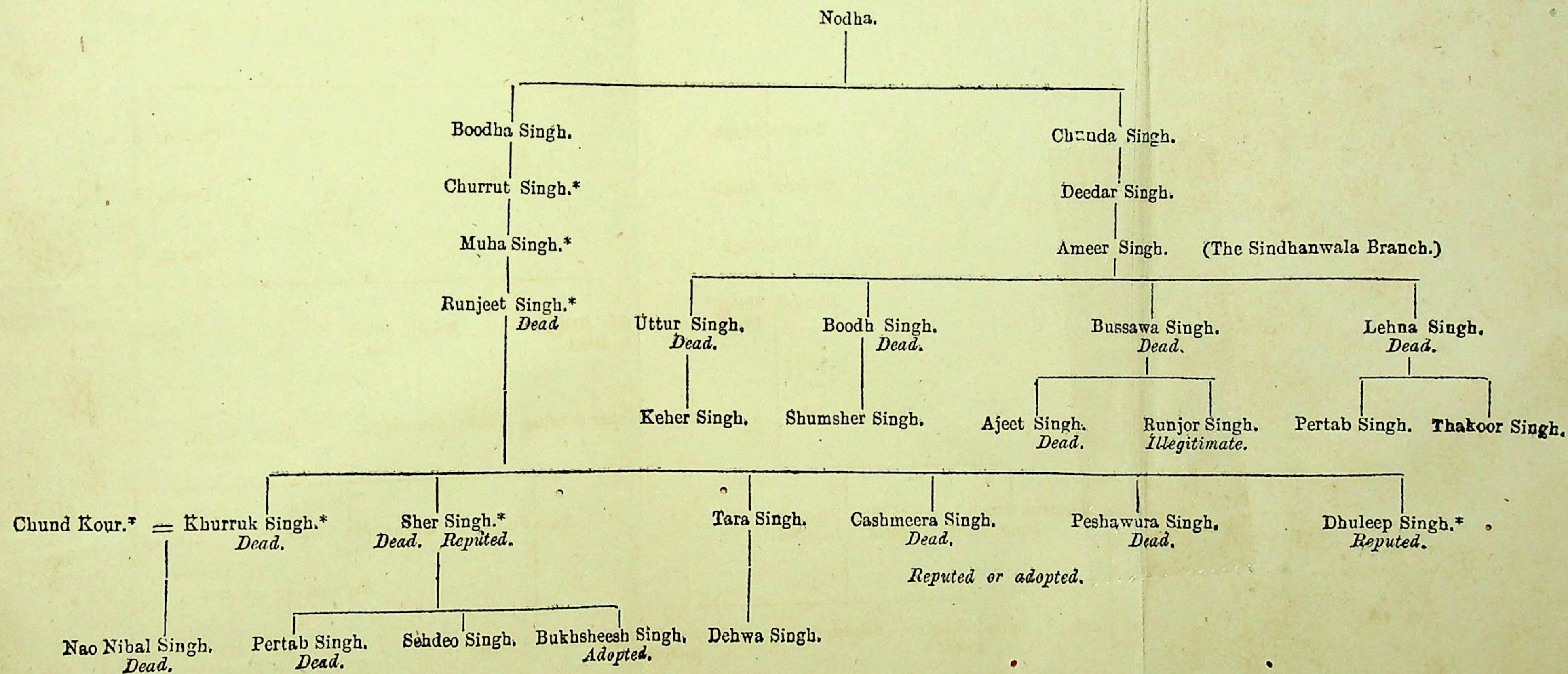
ra Singh. *Dead.*

Dhuleep Singh.* *Reputed.*

Nao Nib *D*

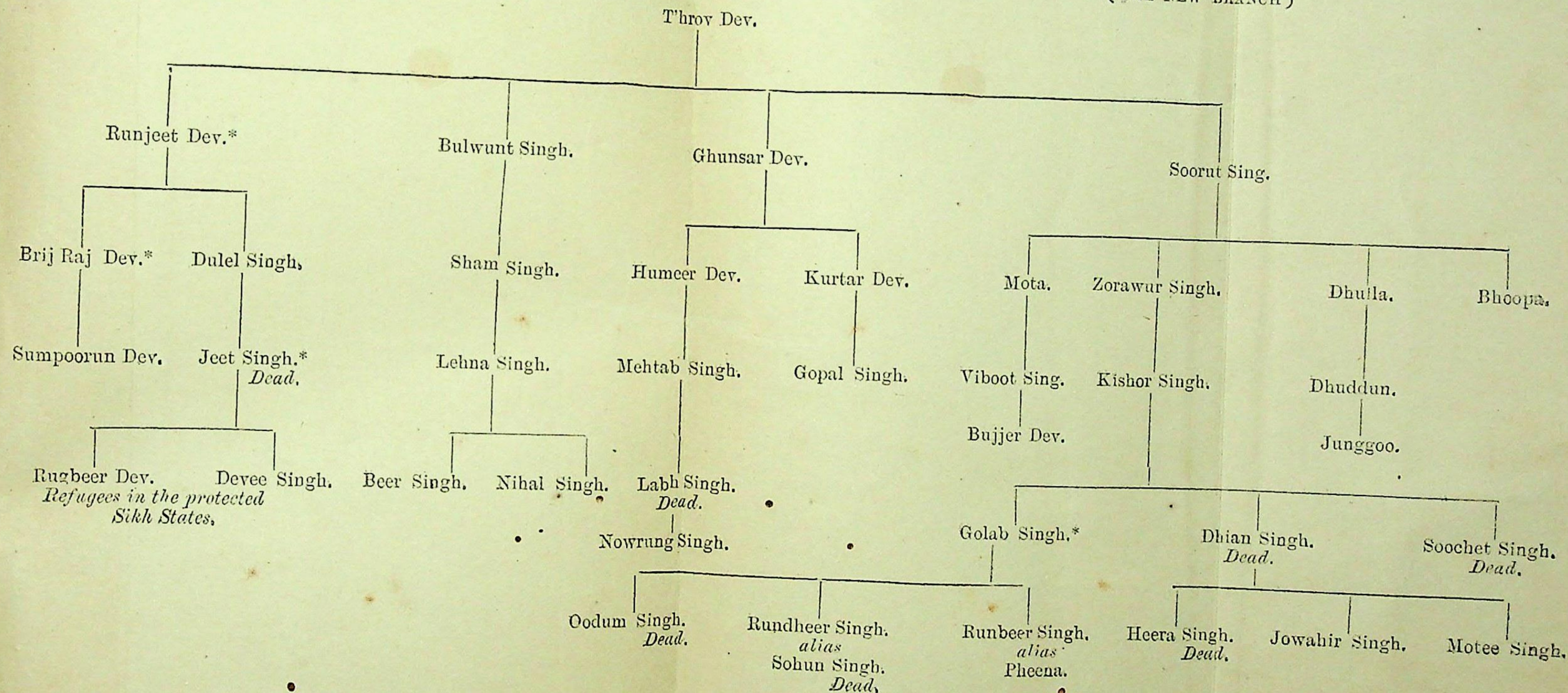
APPENDIX XXIV.

THE LAHORE FAMILY.



APPENDIX XXV.

THE JUMMOO FAMILY.



तिथि	संख्या	तिथि	संख्या